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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

WINSLOW WARREN.

EDWARD CHANNING.

COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Members who have died, or of whose death information has been received, since the last volume of Collections was issued, June 15, 1905, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

William Phineas Upham, A.B.	Nov. 23, 1903.
Rev. Edward James Young, D.D.	June 23, 1906.
Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D.	Sept. 22, 1906.
Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M.	Nov. 16, 1905.
Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.	Oct. 3, 1905.

[The Membership of John Carver Palfrey, A.M., was terminated by resignation Dec. 14, 1905, and the Memberships of George Spring Merriam, A.M., and of Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D., were both terminated by resignation Nov. 8, 1906.]

Honorary.

Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D.	May 14, 1906.
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Corresponding.

Gustave Vapereau	April 18, 1906.
Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D.	Nov. 11, 1906.
Alexander Brown, D.C.L.	Aug. 29, 1906.
Richard Garnett, LL.D.	April 13, 1906.
Frederic William Maitland, LL.D.	Dec. 19, 1906.
Hon. John Hay, LL.D.	July 1, 1905.

[The Membership of Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay, LL.D., was terminated by resignation Dec. 14, 1905; and the name of Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L., was transferred from the Corresponding to the Honorary List Jan. 10, 1907.]

PREFACE.

THE Bowdoin and Temple Papers form a portion of the great collection of Winthrop Papers given to the Society under the will of our late associate Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and are mainly comprised in five large volumes. In 1897 a selection from them, consisting almost wholly of letters to or from Governor Bowdoin and his son-in-law Sir John Temple, during our revolutionary period, was published under the direction of a committee, of which Mr. Winthrop and the late Mellen Chamberlain were members. That volume ended with the year 1782, and it was thought best to defer the publication of a second volume in order that the Society might print at once a selection from the Jefferson Papers given by Mr. Coolidge, and carry out some other plans which had been necessarily delayed. The preparation of the second part has been deferred for a longer time than was then anticipated; but as only one of the original committee is living it has been thought desirable that their plan should now be completed. This second and final volume covers the period from 1783 to 1812, closing with the death of the younger Bowdoin. In the earlier part of this period much light is thrown on the history of Governor Bowdoin's administration and on his successful efforts for the suppression of Shays's insurrection; and

in the later part abundant details will be found relating to the abortive efforts between 1806 and 1808 for the acquisition from Spain of East and West Florida and the settlement of the western boundary of Louisiana.

In the Preface to the first part, which, with the exception of the last paragraph, was written by Mr. Winthrop, some account of the different members of the Bowdoin family is given, but it will be convenient to add here a few facts connected with the younger Bowdoin's diplomatic career. In November, 1804, he was nominated by Mr. Jefferson as minister to Madrid, and the appointment was at once confirmed. At that time his health was such as to render it inexpedient for him to go to Washington to receive his instructions and have a personal interview with the President and the Secretary of State, and this formality was accordingly dispensed with; but it was not until the end of April that he was able to embark for Spain. He reached Santander, on the Bay of Biscay, a little more than two hundred miles from Madrid, early in June. Here various vexatious delays occurred in obtaining permission to land and proceed on his journey; and in the meantime he became seriously ill and was confined to his bed in the house of the American consul in Santander. Finally he decided that his health was such as to render it dangerous for him to go to Madrid, where he could not obtain the necessary medical advice, and he went to England. He arrived there about the end of July, and remained until the latter part of October, when he went to Paris. In March, 1806, he was joined with General Armstrong, the American minister to France, in a special commission to treat with Spain through the intervention of France. This ill-judged measure wholly failed to produce the results which the administration at Washington had in view, and during Mr. Bowdoin's residence in Paris the

two ministers worked at cross-purposes and were openly suspicious of each other. The ill-feeling which existed between them was well known at Washington, and was probably as well known in Paris and in Madrid; but at no time do Jefferson and Madison seem to have had their confidence in Bowdoin and their personal regard for him shaken. Of Armstrong's general ability there is no doubt, but he was utterly deficient in judgment and tact, and he was the victim of his own petty jealousies. His authorship of the Newburg Addresses will not be forgotten by any student of American history; and his management of the War Department during the war of 1812 with Great Britain was not successful. Some years afterward, in September, 1822, John Quincy Adams expressed his belief that Armstrong was "one of the ablest writers and most unprincipled men that this country had ever produced."

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, February 18, 1907.

THE BOWDOIN AND TEMPLE PAPERS.

PART II.

THE BOWDOIN AND TEMPLE PAPERS.

THOMAS POWNALL TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

RICHMOND, Feb. 28, 83.
Surrey.

MY OLD FRIEND, — Permitt me through you to congratulate the STATE MASSACHUSETTS-BAY on the establishment of its SOVEREIGNTY IN POLITICAL FREEDOM; & may I beg of you to render acceptable to the State & citizens the congratulations of an Old Governor (Ultimus Anglorum according to Charter). This address arises from old friendship to that people mixt with the profoundest reverence for the State: & I wish to express this sense in the most marked terms of respect.

In congratulating the State I congratulate you a citizen participant of its sovereignty & freedom. May you live to see & have health to enjoy the progress of the blessing.

I consider this wonderfull Revolution as the visible interposition of Divine Providence, superceeding the ordinary course of human affaires.

. . . Quod promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en, attulit ultro. †

I mean most certainly to come & see the country in its sovereignty & freedom. It will be a sight worth travel-

* For a notice of Governor Pownall see the first part of these Papers, 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. p. 138 note. He and Governor Bowdoin were frequent correspondents. — Eds.

† Virgil, *Æneid*, ix. 6. — Eds.

ling to see. It hath pleased God to take from me every connexion (my allegiance excepted) which I could wish to hold with this my native land; & to give me a feel of wishing that branch of the English nation & that country which shall adopt me, *My Country*. It hath pleased him to give me health & energy of spirits equall to such a voyage; and I am determined to come & see it (if so please God) before I dye. To see the commencement of a great empire at its first foundations is an object that no other period, no other part of the world ever since it was a world, could exhibit: it is an object more worthy the contemplation of a speculating philosopher than can be or ever could be seen in any other country. And to one who loved that country so rising empire must be a scene of joy not to be felt in any other view of this world. I wish very much & should be glad to hear from you on this subject. My plan is to come first to Boston, then to make the tour of the continent, if I find things as I wish, to look for some place of settlement, where I can be best at ease for the remainder of my daies. On this plan I mean to purchase in America. I could bring over with me (if my plan of settling takes place) a number of experienced farmers & usefull labourers, if they could be anywhere settled jointly with me. I know the nature of settling too well to suffer any (who take my advice) to go into the woods. Such emigrants as coming to you may make settlements usefull to your country & beneficial to themselves must sett down on such half-reclaimed lands, such half-made farms, as are called improvements. Are there any such to be had so as that half a dozen or ten families may sett down to gather upon in as many farms with one pretty large one adjoining to them? & whereabouts will the prices of such run? The first thing however which I wish to be informed in is, how a traveller like myself, how I myself would be received, and whether permitted to travel with the same liberty that one may

in Europe? Whether a traveller of this description must not expect to meet with suspicions & jealousies & the effect of old grudges to us Englishmen? Whether one must not expect to experience many occasions of humiliating treatment that would destroy all pleasure in & obstruct all advantage to be derived from such a philosophic journey? It will be impossible that I could arrange my matters so as to come this year, & it would be improper for me to think of it 'till the swell, as well as the storm, of the late troubles has subsided & things begin to flow in their natural course & channel. I therefore should be glad in the mean time to hear from you on the subject. I have enclosed this to our old friend Dr Franklin & have desired him to forward it to you.

Enclosed I send to you & Dr Cooper or to either singly & separately to make a deed of gift for me to Harvard College of the 500 acres of land I have in Pownalborough, which were granted to me by the Kenebeck Company. As I have not at hand the original grant, you will take the description of the land from your own records: and as I am not au fait as to the forms of making this deed of gift according to your laws, so as to vest it properly in the Corporation for the purpose of beginning the establishment of a Political Law Lectureship or Professorship, on this basis described by Cicero, —

Constituendi juris ab illa summa lege capiamus exordium quæ seculis omnibus ante nata est, quam scripta lex ulla, aut quam omnino civitas constituta.* . . . Non à prætoris edicto, ut plerique nunc; neque à XII Tabulis, ut superiores; sed penitus ex intimâ philosophiâ haurienda juris disciplina. † . . . Non [id jus civile,] ac potius ignoratio juris litigiosa est, quam scientia. ‡ I mean & wish to see instituted Lectures on the Science of Polity & Law-giving as derived from God & nature & the nature of man, so as to form the minds of the students to be-

* De Leg., i. vi. 18. — Eds.

† Id. i. v. 17. — Eds.

‡ Id. i. vi. 18. — Eds.

come efficient & good members of a free state. Sed hæc posterius, this is sufficient to mark my intention. If this power be not full & sufficient I will confirm the gift & grant in any form & manner that you will send me to those purposes.

I beg my best wishes & respects to all who remember me ; & I am in every sense of respect & in every sense of friendship, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend & ser^t.

THE HON^{LE} JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^R.

T. POWNALL.

JOHN TEMPLE TO JOHN HANCOCK.

BOSTON, 13 Sept^r, 1783.

SIR,—I have desired the bearer M^r Allen, a Notary Public in this Common Wealth, to wait upon your Excellency for a bond with two responsible sureties in the penal sum of Three Thousand Pounds sterling! demanded and taken of me, by your Excellency! which bond, countersigned with my protest against the same, bears date the 24th day of December, 1781, sixty days after I, in that year, returned to this my native town and country! where I have ever since resided, with honor & reputation I trust, a faithfull citizen of the Common Wealth.

With all due consideration, I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient hble. servant.

J. TEMPLE.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN HANCOCK, Esq^R,
Governor of the State of Massachusetts

JOHN HANCOCK TO JOHN TEMPLE.

BOSTON, Sept^r 18th, 1783.

SIR,—Yesterday M^r Henry Alline delivered me your letter, which I shall lay before the General Court at their

meeting next week; & as soon as I receive their decision upon its contents, you shall be made acquainted with it.

I am, Sir, your most obed^t serv^t.

JOHN HANCOCK.

JOHN TEMPLE, Esq^r.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.*

[COPY.]

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, LEBANON,
1st October, 1783.

TO THE R^t HON^{BLE} EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

MY LORD, — It may somewhat surprize your Lordship to receive a letter from a Governor of one of the United States of America; and at a time too when your Lordship hath ceas'd to hold that ministerial office which formerly gave me occasion to write officially to you. I flatter myself, however, that you will not take it amiss that I thus trespass a few minutes upon your time.

Your Lordship will recollect that I had frequently the honor of writing to you at the beginning of those troubles which brought on a war between G. Britain & this country; & that I took the liberty, as I thought it my duty, to offer my sentiments with freedom on that occasion.

My letter of March, 1775, in particular, I had great faith would have done some good in setting aside the false representations which had from time to time been made against this country. That letter, my Lord, was dictated by an honest heart; & how far it mark'd the consequences of Britain's *persevering* in her plan your Lordship is now well able to judge. Had the *truths* then frankly made known to your Lordship for the mutual good of both countries been attended to, what blood & treasure might not have been saved on both sides!

* Neither this letter nor the letter of March, 1775, to which reference is made in it, is in the Trumbull Papers in the possession of this Society, copious selections from which have been published in the Collections. — Eds.

what friendship & affection have been preserved & how long might not the two countries have remain'd in a mutual happy connexion! But it is done; & to look back can now be of no further use than to make past errors subservient, as they sometimes may be made, to wiser & happier conduct in future.

As it appears to be now the sincere wish & desire (as it doubtless is the wisdom) of the ministry & people of England, to recover, as far as may be, the *friendship and commerce* of this country, may I suggest to your Lordship that every act of justice & reparation of injuries which shall evidently appear to have been done will tend not a little to further those wishes, & in particular suffer me to mention the singular case of Mr Temple. He and Doctor Franklin are the only crown officers of rank who were dismiss'd from very lucrative & honorable employment for their attachment to this their native country; or rather for not falling in with all the other crown officers in those misrepresentations which so *fatally deceiv'd* Great Britain. Dr Franklin has been employ'd & amply honor'd & rewarded by his country, & could not accept if offer'd any reparation. Mr Temple is therefore, as I said, *singular* in his sufferings. The British ministry have repeatedly acknowledged that he was as a crown officer both *faithfull & able* in office; but his attachment to his country render'd it necessary to remove him from the several offices which he sustain'd. Experience, dearly bought, must have convinc'd that same ministry that Mr Temple's sentiments & representations concerning his country were founded in truth, while those of his enemies who sought & effected his overthrow were founded in *falsehood*.

Should Mr Temple (who writes me he is about going to England) meet with honest & honorable reparation for his past sufferings, it would be pleasing to his friends & connexions (who are neither few nor insignificant *in these*

States) & would no doubt tend to create good humour between the two countries. He was L^t Governor of one of the then Provinces; had a seat at the council board in five other Provinces; was Surveyor General of the Royal Revenue in America; &, afterwards, Surveyor General of the Customs in England; he was also a Commissioner, part of the time that wicked & incendiary board acted in this country; in all which stations, I have always heard that he acquitted himself with *honor & reputation* in the eyes of the ministry, except that he was, as they were taught to think, improperly friendly to this country; but he could have had no other view than to the general good in being friendly to this country, since he could have expected nothing in emolument from America equal to what he then enjoy'd under the crown, for it is not the intention of these States that great emoluments shall accrue to any, be their stations what they may.

I have written this letter, not more with a wish to serve Mr Temple (if peradventure it may serve him) than to shew your Lordship that I also cordially wish oblivion to past injuries & a sincere & lasting return of intercourse, friendship, & commerce between the two countries.

My son,* who in the cool hour of recollection I dare say will be thought to have been cruelly imprison'd & ill treated in England, will have the honor of delivering this letter to your Lordship. He returns to England to improve his natural turn to the pencil, which, his countryman the celebrated artist, Mr West, thinks worthy of cultivation. I have not even the least pretension to ask any favor of your Lordship, but should my son meet with any degree of spontaneous countenance or protection from your Lordship, I should feel myself very much

* Col. John Trumbull, the painter. He and Temple were intimate friends. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. pp. 464-468. — Eds.

oblig'd, & should be happy to render your Lordship any services that may possibly be in my power on this side the water.

I am, &c., &c.

JONTH TRUMBULL,
Gov^r of the State of Connecticut.

I have taken the liberty to enclose your Lordship a copy of mine of March, 1775, least thro multiplicity of business, the original should have been mislaid.

JOHN TEMPLE TO TRISTRAM DALTON.

BOSTON, 20th of October, 1783.

SIR,—Inclosed is the copy of a letter I, on the 13th ultimo, wrote to the Governor of this Common Wealth, together with his Excellency's answer, of the 18th following; ever since which I have been waiting with much solicitude for the determination of the two honorable houses, (if they shall think it a matter to be determined by them) agreeably to the purport of the Governor's said answer.

Is it possible, Sir, that the two houses can let *another session* pass over without bringing this matter, if cognisable by them, to a fair and final determination; at least, as far as they may think they have to do with it?

Why am I thus long held under excessive and unprecedented bonds? and why is *Justice* thus long delayed or withheld from me a native, a subject, and a citizen of this now free & independent State!? It is now more than two years, Sir, since I returned home that my character, far dearer to me than life itself, has been thus held in suspence (by the vilest *art & influence* as I apprehend) and upon a matter, nothing short of *high treason*! which ought to have been seriously considered and without delay descided upon by the government.

If I have offended against the laws of my country, why have not those laws been long since put in force against me? If I have not offended against them, as, knowingly, I certainly have not, why have I till this time (more than two years) been thus held, and in a very singular manner too, under such excessive, disgracefull, and unprecedented bonds? Is this the fair fruit of our successfull struggles against tyranny & oppression? This the happy advantages of our glorious independence obtained at such an immense expence of our best blood & treasure? Is our constitution & government really such as that one citizen because he happens to be in office shall with impunity find means (in gratification of base envy & vindictive malice) to keep the character & reputation of another for more than two years suspended under *insinuations* of the highest crimes, *conspiracy & treason* against the state? and, by an alarming *influence* banefull to all government, baffle & defeat his every attempt to obtain justice from the laws of his country?

If these be the first fruits of our glorious revolution! and no remedy or redress is to be found from the laws, I for one, Sir, would very soon relinquish my birth right, and seek a residence in some other country where justice is more awake & the laws less tardy in their operation.

I have, it is well known, upon the most important & trying occasions, & at every risk & sacrafise, rendered great and faithfull services to this my native country! and, regardless of all selfinterested considerations on the one hand, as well as unmindfull of supreme ingratitude on the other, I hope for opportunities of rendering still further services: nevertheless, Sir, I have at present no favors to ask of the two honorable houses; I feel myself oppressed, injured, and ill treated in the extreme! *Justice* therefore, without further delay, is all that I have to ask or desire; and which, I again claim, request, and demand, as my birth right in this now soverign independent State.

The bond demanded & taken of me by the Governor, on the 24th of December, 1781, I signed (circumstanced as I then was) through absolute necessity; & with the same feelings & consideration that I would sign a promissary note, or give up my purse to a rober with his pistol at my breast upon the high way! and I endorsed my protest against it accordingly.

Permit me, Sir, to request the favor that you will again move the honorable house of which you are Speaker, that they will, if not from the justice due to an individual, yet for the *suffering honor & reputation* of the government, take this matter (if thought cognisable by them) under their serious & immediate consideration, and determine thereupon as they in their wisdom & justice shall think proper.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

J. TEMPLE.

THE HONORABLE TRISTRAM DALTON, ESQ^R,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

A similar letter Mr Temple wrote to the Hon^{le} Mr Adams, President of Senate, to be read to the honorable board at which he presided.

RESOLVE OF THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Senate, October 22^d, 1783.

WHEREAS during the late war, the conduct of John Temple, Esq^r, in passing to & from the enemies of these States without the permission in such cases required by the laws & customs of nations at war, & on pretences not well explained, excited in the free citizens of these United States many & just suspicions touching his designs, in consequence whereof, & by due precaution to

prevent any harm to the Commonwealth the Governor with the advice & consent of the Council, did, on the twenty-fourth day of December, A. D. 1781, cause the said John Temple, Esq^r, to enter into bond to this Commonwealth with two sureties, conditioned that he would not do or say any thing in opposition to or prejudice of the proceedings of Congress, or of the Assembly or Council of this State, & that he would not directly or indirectly give any intelligence to the enemies of the United States. And whereas it appears to this Court that the reasons for which he was laid under bond ceased with the war,

Therefore, RESOLVED that the said John Temple, Esq^r, be & he is hereby discharg'd from the said bond & the same is hereby declared null & void; and the Treasurer of this Commonwealth is directed to cancel & deliver the same bond to him accordingly.

Sent down for concurrence.

S. ADAMS, President.

In the House of Representatives.

Oct^r 28th, 1783.

Read & concurred.

Approv'd.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

JOHN HANCOCK.

True Copy.

Attest, JOHN AVERY, Sec^y.

REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND SUBSEQUENT ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT.*

TO THE HONBLE., THE SENATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS —

In obedience to their direction that the Attorney General should reduce to writing his verbal report to

* The report and other documents here printed are from a manuscript of six folio pages, attested by the autograph signature of John Avery, Secy, and evidently compiled after the passage and approval of the Resolve of Oct. 28, 1783. In the Bowdoin and Temple Papers there is a great mass of printed and manuscript material connected with the bitter personal and political antagonism of James Sullivan, afterward Governor, and Sir John Temple, which it does not seem desirable to reproduce here. We may add as an interesting and noteworthy circumstance that in 1809 one of Sullivan's sons was married to a granddaughter of Temple. — Eds

them respecting his doings on the allegations of James Sullivan, Esq^r, against John Temple, Esq^r, referred to him by the General Court at their last session, —

The said Attorney General answers that the above mentioned allegations were referred to him “to be acted upon as to law & justice appertaineth”: That upon considering these allegations, there appear to be some of them bottomed upon great political questions, & exceedingly extensive beyond M^r Temple’s particular case, & therefore not cognizable by or suitable to be submitted to the determination of a Grand Jury: That had he passed over these questions & allegations, & prosecuted M^r Temple for the high crimes & misdemeanours expressed in the said allegations it might have been considered as such an acknowledgment of M^r Temple’s citizenship, & such a superceeding of the allegations & questions respecting the same, as he thought he had no right to make: That as to the question of citizenship respecting M^r Temple & many others who may be tho’t to be in like circumstances he knows of no law or regulation of trial provided by this Commonwealth that comes within his department: That, as to the question of prudence, whether M^r Temple shall be admitted to a citizenship, he conceives it to be a political question beyond the extent of his office: And that for these reasons he has not acted upon the said allegations. All which with great respect, as in duty bound, is humbly submitted.

ROB. TREAT PAINE.*

* This document is not dated; but among the Bowdoin and Temple Papers is a printed broadside indorsed “A Narrative of the Conduct of the Governor & of the Proceedings of the two houses of Assembly concerning M^r Temple from his arrival in 1781 to the present day,” which gives its history. In October, 1782, Mr. Sullivan delivered to the General Court “eight or ten sheets of paper, with the following title to them: These sheets contain the facts and grounds of the information contained in the letter of James Sullivan, Esq., to the Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Esq., Speaker, &c., dated the 26th day of September, 1782.” Thereupon the two branches after reading the said sheets ordered that they should “be referred to the Attorney General to be acted upon as to law and justice appertaineth.” Apparently nothing further was done at that time; but “in the next session, upon the meeting of the two Houses in January, 1783, a member of the lower House moved that the

In Senate, February 19th, 1783. Read & thereupon Ordered, that William Sever & John Bacon, Esq^{rs}, with such as the Honble. House may join be a Committee to take this Representation under consideration & report what may be proper to be done thereon.

Sent down for concurrence.

S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, February 20th, 1783. Read and concurred & Gen^l Ward, M^r Dane & M^r Frazier are join'd.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

The Committee of both Houses on the Representation of Robert Treat Paine, Esq^r, Attorney General of this Commonwealth, &c., have attended that service & having considered the same report the following Resolve which is submitted.

W. SEVER, p^r ord^r.

Resolved that the allegations of James Sullivan, Esq^r, against John Temple, Esq^r, be referred to the Attorney General of this Commonwealth who is hereby directed immediately to lay such facts therein contained as particularly relate to the said John Temple, Esq^r, before the Grand Jury of the County of Suffolk, that such proceedings may be had thereon as to law & justice appertain.

In Senate, March 4th, 1783. Read & not accepted and thereupon,

Resolved that the Governor be & he is hereby requested to order John Temple, Esq^r, within a reasonable

Attorney-General be called upon to repeat what he had done in obedience to their order concerning the charge of Mr. James Sullivan against Mr. Temple? The Attorney appeared upon the floor, made a very frivolous (and in the opinion of some of the Members a very impertinent) excuse or apology for such his total neglect of *positive* orders given the preceding session! The Senate likewise called upon him to report in *writing* what he had done in obedience to their order concerning the said charge against Mr. Temple?" Then follows the report as given above. — Eds.

time to depart from this Commonwealth, not to return into the same again without leave therefor first had of the General Court.

In Senate, March 5th, 1783. Read again, reconsidered & thereupon, Ordered that the Governor with advice of Council be requested to take proper measures, that it may be speedily determined whether it be consistent with the public safety to permit John Temple, Esq^r, to remain any longer time within this Commonwealth. Sent down for concurrence.

S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, March 7th, 1783.

Read & concurred.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

Gentlemen of the Senate & Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The Secretary will lay before you a letter I have received from John Temple, Esq^r, upon the subject of his bond; as M^r Temple's affairs are still before the General Court, I judg'd it most proper to submit it to you to act upon as you shall think proper.

JOHN HANCOCK.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, BOSTON, 27th Sept^r, 1783.

In Senate, Sept. 27th, 1783. Read & thereupon Ordered, that Charles Turner & Nathaniel Tracey, Esq^{rs}, with such as the Honble. House shall join be a Committee to take this message & the letter accompanying the same into consideration, & report what may be proper to be done thereon.

Sent down for concurrence.

S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, same day,

Read & concurred, & M^r Dane, M^r Hosmer & M^r Clarke are joined.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

In Senate, October 9th, 1783. Ordered that Seth Washburne, Esq^r, be on this Committee in the room of Nathaniel Tracey, Esq^r, who has leave of absence.

S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, Sept. 30th, 1783. Ordered that M^r Page be on the joint committee on the Governor's message relative to M^r Temple in the room of M^r Dane, who is absent.

Sent up for concurrence.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. October 11th, 1783.

The Committee of both Houses to whom the Governor's message of the 27th September last was committed, together with a letter from John Temple, Esq^r., to the Governor accompanying the said message, having maturely considered the matter are unanimously of opinion that the said Temple have a hearing before both Houses in one room, in such way & manner as the General Court shall order & direct. Which is submitted

SETH WASHBURN, P^r Order.

In Senate, October 11th, 1783. Read & not accepted, & thereupon Ordered that this Report be recommitted, & that the Committee be directed to take into consideration the papers on the files of the General Court relating to John Temple, Esq^r.

Sent down for concurrence

S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, October 13th, 1783.

Read & concurred.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Committee of both Houses appointed to take into consideration the Governor's message of 27th Sept. last & the letter accom-

panying the same from John Temple, Esq^r, report as per the Resolve on the other side.

SETH WASHBURNE, pr. order.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Whereas John Temple, Esq^r, in the year One thousand seven hundred & seventy removed himself & family from the then Province of Massachusetts Bay to Great Britain & there remained until the year One Thousand seven hundred & seventy eight & then returned to America in such manner as excited suspicion & jealousies against him, reports then notoriously current in England relative to his mission as well as the person accompanying him gave force to the suspicions then raised, & the said Temple calling himself a citizen of this State did in May, One thousand seven hundred & seventy nine, without obtaining permission therefor depart from this State & voluntarily return to the kingdom of Great Britain & there receive protection from the laws & the King of that kingdom, then at open war with these States, until the year One thousand seven hundred & eighty one, & in the month of October in the same year did without permission return to this Commonwealth, whereupon his Excellency the Governor & Council taking the matter into their consideration, as well to satisfy the justifiable jealousies of the good people of this Commonwealth as to prevent any injury which might arise to the United States, either from said Temple's conduct aforesaid or from any thing which he might thereafter do against them, did order that he should enter into bonds with sureties, conditioned that he would not do or say any thing in opposition to or in prejudice of the proceedings of Congress or of the Assembly or Council of this State, & that he would not directly or indirectly give any intelligence to the enemies of these United States; and the said Temple did on the twenty fourth day of December, in the year last above mentioned give such bond accord-

ingly, — And whereas the United States in Congress assembled by their letter dated the first day of March, One thousand seven hundred & eighty two request the Supreme Executive Power of this Commonwealth to take such measures with regard to said Temple as should put it out of his power to injure the United States, for which & other considerations the said Temple's bond aforesaid has remained uncanceled until this day, — And whereas there appears no evidence that the said Temple hath broken the condition of the bond aforesaid; & it does not appear probable that his liberation will be detrimental or dangerous to this Commonwealth, or to the United States of America —

It is therefore, RESOLVED that the said bond be & it is hereby declared to be null from the passing of this Resolve, And the Treasurer of this Commonwealth is hereby directed to deliver the same to the said Temple on his making personal application therefor.

In Senate, October 22^d, 1783.

Read & accepted as taken into a new draft.

Sent down for concurrence

S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, October 24th, 1783.

Read & concurred as taken into another new draft.

Sent up for concurrence.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

In Senate, Oct^r 28th, 1783. Read & concurred with amendments at A.

Sent down for concurrence

dele from A to B. S. ADAMS, Presid^t.

In the House of Representatives, October 28th, 1783.

Read & concurred.

Approv'd. TRISTRAM DALTON, Spk^r.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

(New Draft of the Senate)

IN SENATE, Oct^r 22^d, 1783.

WHEREAS in the time of the late war, the Governor with the advice of Council was pleased for certain reasons to order that John Temple, Esq^r, should enter into bonds with sureties, conditioned that he would not do or say any thing in opposition to or in prejudice of the proceedings of Congress or of the Assembly or Council of this State; and that he would not directly or indirectly give any intelligence to the enemies of the United States: And the said Temple did enter into bond accordingly, — And whereas it does not appear to this Court that any reasons now remain why he should continue under the said bond.

RESOLVED, as the opinion of this Court, that the Governor discharge the said John Temple, Esq^r, from the said bond.

(New draft of the House)

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Senate, Oct^r 22^d, 1783.

WHEREAS during the late war the conduct of John Temple, Esq^r, in passing to & from the enemies of these States, without the permission in such cases required by the laws & customs of nations at war, & on pretences not well explained, excited in the free citizens of these United States many & just suspicions touching his designs; in consequence whereof & by due precaution to prevent any harm to the Commonwealth the Governor with the advice & consent of the Council did, on the twenty fourth day of December, A. D. 1781, cause the said John Temple, Esq^r, to enter into bond to this Common-

A

B

wealth, in the penal sum of Two thousand pounds, with two sureties, conditioned that he would not do or say any thing in opposition to or prejudice of the proceed-

ings of Congress, or of the Assembly or Council of this State, and that he would not directly or indirectly give any intelligence to the enemies of the United States — And whereas it appears to this Court that the reasons for which he was laid under bond ceased with the war —

Therefore RESOLVED that the said John Temple, Esq^r, be & he is hereby discharged from the said bond & the same is hereby declared null & void ; And the Treasurer of this Commonwealth is directed to cancel & deliver the same bond to him accordingly.

The foregoing six pages contain true copies of the originals.

Attest. JOHN AVERY, Sec^y.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THOMAS POWNALL.*

BOSTON, Nov^r 20, 1783.

THE HON. THO^s POWNALL, Esq^r.

D^a SIR, — I am honoured by your letter of y^e 28th Feb^y last. Its coming by way of Paris & Phil^a occasioned my not receiving it till October. The General Court was then sitting, and as your congratulations on American Independence could not be communi. so well as by y^r own letter, I sent it to the President of y^e Senate who publickly read it to them, as the Speaker afterwards did to y^e House of Representatives. It was rec^d in both houses with pleasure & gave general satisfaction. The event upon which you congratulate us is really an extraordinary one. I consider it with you, “as y^e visible interposition of divine providence, superceeding the ordinary course of human affairs.” Among y^e agreeable consequences that are likely to arise from it, your intended visit to this country will

* This letter is printed from Bowdoin's rough draught. It was communicated to the Society by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in October, 1861, and was first printed in the Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 245, 246. But it is believed that the letter to which it is an answer, and the subsequent correspondence on the same subject, except Bowdoin's letter of Aug. 21, 1784, have not been printed before. — Eds.

be one. To us of the old race it will give y^e sincerest pleasure to see our old friend; and to none of them more than to myself. When you come you will scarcely see any other than new faces. Tho' this is naturally to be expected after so long absence, the change w^{ch} in that respect has happened within the few years since y^e revolution is as remarkable as y^e revolution itself. It seems to have anticipated the time when "all old things shall be done away and all things become new." I observe it is your plan to purchase in America, with a view of spending y^e remainder of y^r days in it, if you find things as you wish. There are several very agreeable places within a few miles of Boston w^{ch} I suppose may be purchased with good buildings & accommodations to them with a quantity of land from 50 to 100 acres or a sufficiency for experiments and y^e rural amusement of a gentⁿ, but I do not know of a number of farms lying together that are to be purchased, tho' money eno' will command anything. Of rough lands at a distance, there is enough to be had; but these do not correspond to your description. I will make further enquiry, and if I sh^d be informed of a situa. answering to that description, I will give you notice of it. In y^e mean while lay aside every apprehension of uncivil treatment in travelling through this country. Every gentⁿ from every country, excepting American refugees, against whom y^e spirit of resentment continues high, may travel with y^e same freedom as formerly. Your intention of beginning y^e establishment of a professorship of political law in our University, on y^e basis you describe from Cicero, intitles you not only to the thanks of that society but of every person who wishes well to the Commonwealth. It would be an excellent institution, and would hand down to posterity wth honour y^e name of y^e founder. But I am afraid your intention, and expectations from y^e Pownalborough land will be disappointed. The property of it as I am informed has been alienated

at public vendue for y^e non-payment of taxes. Whether y^e time for redeeming it limited by law be expired, I cannot tell. I have wrote to a gentⁿ there to make critical enquiry about the taxes, y^e sale, y^e time of redemption, and every particular that will serve to give a right idea of this matter, about w^{ch} you shall be further informed. In my letter to you by M^r Temple in May, 1779, I acquainted you I had p^d for you a small tax on that land, and that if you desired it, I w^d pay y^e future taxes, but as I did not hear from you about it, I imagined you did not choose in so hazardous a state of things to risk any money upon y^e land. I communicated to D^r Cooper your letter and y^e inclosed deed of y^e s^d land, and at the next meeting shall lay them before y^e Corporation of y^e College, who individually are already made acquainted with them.

M^r Temple, by whom you'll receive this letter, goes to England with his family by this opportunity. He will be able to give a full account of everything you w^d wish to know of y^e situation of things on this side of the water. Wishing you every happiness, I am, wth y^e sincerest esteem & y^e most cordial affection, d^r Sir,

Yrs. &c.

I had y^e pleasure of writing to you in Aug^t last p^r M^r Gorham and since p^r.

THOMAS POWNALL TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

RICHMOND, Dec^r 9, 83.
Surrey.

MY D^r FRIEND, — I siezed the first oportunity w^{ch} offered after the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace, when our King had from the throne declared his acknowledgement of the independant sovereignty of N. America to congratulate you on this declared establishment in peace; and in March last wrote a long letter to you which D^r Franklin undertook to convey & forward. He has since by a note I have received from him acquainted me

that he did so forward my letters with his own & that the ship by w^{ch} they were sent was arrived.

By a letter dated March 17, 1779, which I had the pleasure of receiving from you, you acquainted me that the lands which I held in Pownalborough & which (as I informed you) I intended to give to Harvard College were not sold, as others were in common, but that a gentleman at your request had undertaken to pay the taxes for me. *During the warr* I could not safely or properly take any step in that business, except saying that if the taxes were paid I would, when I could do it properly, repay the person who advanced them. This I wrote to you in the spring following. The moment however that the preliminaries were signed I made out a full power of attorney to yourself & D^r Cooper, jointly or seperately, to make in my name a grant of these lands to the College as therein expressed. I enclosed this in my letter of March last.

Having never received any answer from you or D^r Cooper or the College on that head I must suppose either that my letters or your answer must have miscarried.* I have therefore made out a second power of the same purport & tenor which M^r J. Adams & his son have witnessed. Their signature will be known to you. My acknowledgment of this power as my act & deed is authenticated by a Justice of the Peace. I send it together with duplicates of my former letters. I hope these will come safe to hand. These duplicates are not now sent, the power excepted.†

I received a [letter] from you dated Nov^r 12, 83. It came by M^r Gorham, who sent it to me from London to this place, where, since I quitted all publick affairs of this country, I live retired & alway reside. I invited him to come to me & spend a day or so with me; but

* Jan., 84. I have since rec^d by M^r Temple your letter acquainting me that the letter & power was received.

† These nine words are interlined in ink of a different color, and were probably added when the postscript was written. — Eds.

have not as yet seen him. As the matter mentioned in your letter respecting Charles-Town is in his hands & you referr me to him, I will when I see him give him every aid & advice that he may think can contribute to his purpose, but 'till I see him I know not what to say or what answer to give on that subject.

I have not yet seen him. — Jan., 84.

Since that, I have received a letter from you of an older date, viz. Sep^r 23, 83, w^{ch} is marked on the cover to be sent by favor of Mr Wheelwright.* This letter contained enclosed an authenticated state of the case of Falmouth sent to me in a letter from the committees of that town. This letter desires me to become an agent in the case, or at least a receiver of such summs as the charitable here may be found disposed to give toward their relief. My answer to them, which I send enclosed to you under a flying seal, & which I beg you to seal & forward to them, will answer these points of your letter.

Mr Adams is so kind as to forward these dispatches for me & by his favor I send you a copy of my Memorial to the Sovereigns of America which I beg your acceptance of. The Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe was soon known to be mine. A French translation of it was published in Holland as mine without my leave. And I gave the editor of another French translation printed & published at Bruxelles leave to putt my name to it, the reasons for which I expressed in a letter prefixed to that edition. There have been of French & English editions two or nearer three thousand copies sold. There is not any now left & I am applyed to for another edition. It was published in the very proper moment of the events which were balancing, & of the opinions of foreign ministers who, as well as our own, were disposed to endeavour to strengthen themselves in their old prejudices rather than to adopt those reasonings which the late great crisis

* The letter here referred to was printed in Proceedings, vol. v. p. 244. — Eds.

called for. It had its effect; and ministers, both foreign & domestic (to speak with precision I should confine myself to foreign ministers) have learnt to take up a new line of reasoning on the case.

I wish most sincerely & anxiously that my Memorial to the Sovereigns of America may have as full & effectual operation; saying this (as this letter comes by favor of M^r Adams) it is justice to him to mark that he does not approve my idea of an office of executive, whether Consuls, Protectors, &c., &c., &c. I remain, however, clear in my opinion, if I had not convincing reasons for it yet from fears that "If the citizens of America do not establish some efficient executive office *by Constitution*, they should, from the necessity of the case, be led to adopt *some power* that will not only [be ?] unconstitutional but oppugnant to & destructive of the Principles of Political Freedom on which you are founded."* Adieu my dear Friend,

I am faithfully & affectionately yours.

THE HON^{BLE} JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ.

T. POWNALL.

Jan 11, 84. London. I am here for a week in my way to Bath where I mean to reside for a couple of months or so 'till spring & travelling weather fairly sett's in — when I shall quitt England & go abroad, & shall remain *there* 'till I can clearly understand my ground as to my coming to America. In the mean time (this letter not being forwarded I have sent for it in order to add what I now write) I beg that if the lands, which I mean to give as the beginning of the foundation of a Law Professorship, are not sold beyond redemption, through default of the not-payment of taxes, which by my letter I hoped would

* Pownall was a somewhat prolific writer on various subjects; and among his publications were "A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe," 1780, which was several times reprinted in a more or less imperfect form, and "A Memorial to the Sovereigns of America," 1783. A copy of the former work, printed in London for J. Stockdale, 1781, is in the Library of the Historical Society. See Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, vol. ii. p. 1658; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xlv. pp. 267, 268. — Eds.

be paid, *during the warr*, without my intervention, I beg you will pay the taxes & charges for me that the lands may be vested in the College according to my intentions. I will repay you on your draught. I have besides this grant left by my will to Harvard College at my death all my printed books, & send you enclosed a copy of that part of my will w^{ch} I beg you will communicate to & lodge with the College, that they may know how to act in case of my death.

As I mean to reside in France for some time 'till matters are so settled in America that I may know what I am about when I come there, I should be much flattered if that State, to the individuals of which I gave commissions & honors when I commanded it as a Colony, would in return send me over a commission of L^t General; that having no rank from my *native* country, I may appear in Europe in my *American rank*, which I will be proud of, & will not dishonor. I wish you to feel the ground & try if this be practical, &, if it be, to gett it proposed; but not to committ me on uncertainties. Many happy New Years to you & may every good omen attend my good wishes to the State.

Your obliged & affectionate friend.

Direct for me :

T. POWNALL.

To John Pownall, Esq^r, Abingdon Street, Westminster, London.

I leave him, my brother, my agent in my absence, & my executor in case of my decease.

SAMUEL DEXTER TO JOHN TEMPLE.*

DEDHAM, Decem. 13th, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I wished for an hour's conversation with you before your departure, and had not the circumstances

* Samuel Dexter, father of the eminent lawyer and statesman of the same name, was the eldest son of Rev. Samuel Dexter of Dedham, where he was born March 16, 1726. Unlike

of my family required that I should directly go out of town, I should have gone with pleasure to the Hon^{ble} Mr Bowdoin's, when you invited me the last time I saw you. Persuaded as I am, and have ever been, of your having exerted yourself to serve your country, and full of indignation at the pretenders to patriotism who have endeavoured to blast your character, I have thought it my duty, on all occasions, by word & writing, as far as I could, to counteract their rascally designs. I think I can already perceive some relentings in those who were led by these designing men to suspect your integrity. I pitied them before, when they, without exercising the little judgment they had of their own, suffered themselves to be duped by such as pretended to be able to investigate characters so much above their reach. Sullivan, whose knowledge, such as it is, is confined to the dry study of the law, and *another*, whose studies ought to have been more limited than they have been to theology, and the *first magistrate*,* who is acquainted with no branch of science at all, not even government, in which he should have been an adept to have been fit for the station he *unworthily* occupies, and the rest of the group, have been far from raising their reputation by their malignant endeavours to lessen yours.

I doubt not you will, by your exertions to serve America respecting their commercial interests, which from your former important appointments, discharged to the entire satisfaction of the public, you are so thoroughly acquainted with, convince any that may be still

his father and his son, he did not graduate at Harvard College, but engaged in mercantile pursuits in Boston, and acquired an ample fortune. He also took an active part in public life, and served the State in various capacities. He was much interested in theological studies, and rejected the popular Calvinistic doctrines. At his death he left a bequest to Harvard College for the encouragement of Biblical criticism. He died at Mendon, Mass., June 10, 1810. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii. p. 161; Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, vol. ii. pp. 296-298; *Biographical Sketch* by Rev. Carlton A. Staples, in *Dedham Hist. Register*, vol. iii. pp. 45-60. — Eds.

* The persons referred to are identified in a note in a contemporary handwriting as Dr. Cooper and Hancock. — Eds.

wavering, if any such there are, that your inveterate enemies have been actuated, not by a love to their country, but from principles the most sordid and selfish.

Retired as I am and chuse to be from public employment, I sincerely wish for the honour & benefit of my country to see the day when none but such as are best qualified, both by abilities & integrity, shall fill those departments which are now possessed by dunces, fribblers, and coxcombs.

R. T. P. is already or will soon be appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court in this Commonwealth; and S——n succeeds him as Attorney General, and quits his seat in the General Court, because excluded by the Constitution, tho' he has held it for some time, when by the same Constitution he was intelligible! This *par nobile fratrum*, who, when you was Surveyor General, were, to say the least, among the minor attornies at law, have discovered as much zeal against you as any men in the State, from motives, which if pure & immaculate, some good judges of human nature are greatly mistaken. If any have thought favourably of their conduct, yet the time, I trust, is speedily approaching when they will be considered as willful and malicious slanderers, even by men who have applauded them for their patriotism.

The Prime Minister* now lies sick of a fever, and has been thought in so hazzardous a situation that the place of worship in Brattle Street was filled on the Monday before last with clergymen and others to pray for his recovery; which, if it should take place, it will give him an opportunity to be more of a spiritual man and less of a politician.

Although I once had some acquaintance with the honourable gentleman, who, I suppose, is now the American minister at the Court of London, and to whom I should be glad to pay my respectful compliments, yet as

* Identified in a note in a contemporary handwriting as Dr. Cooper. — Eds.

I have no pretences for obtruding a letter upon him at present, I could wish you would desire him to urge upon the Hon^{ble} Mr S. Adams, the preparing, from his manuscripts, sufficient to make a volume or two, to be published in London. I am certain his name would render that which has an intrinsic value in itself still more valuable in the opinion of multitudes. The bookseller, I think, would give a handsome sum for the copy. I have had a hint that it has been mentioned to him already. He is my old and faithful friend; and I have reason to think (I say it upon my honour,) that he has been yours in these uncharitable and uncandid times.

I had not a thought till I saw the account in the news papers, that your lady and daughter were to accompany you in your voyage. I sincerely wish you, & those that are most dear to you, all imaginable happiness, and am,

Dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

SAMUEL DEXTER.

HON^{BLE} MR TEMPLE.

THOMAS POWNALL TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

DEAR SIR,—In your letter I find not less to my mortification than my surprize, that the lands which I had of so long date destined for Harvard College have been sold for default of payment of taxes, although I understood the taxes would be paid for me *during the warr*, which was a matter *during the warr* I could not properly engage myself in; but trusting that y^e person whoever paid them for me must be sure I w^d repay him, I concluded they were paid *during the warr* & the very moment the warr was over I wrote & sent over a power of attorney to you & D^r Cooper to make a grant of them for me to Harvard College. If they can be recovered to the College by my paying the taxes & charges I beg that may be done for me & I will repay it, so that the

deed of gift to the College may be made as I intended. I have besides by my [will?] left at my decease all my printed books to the College & I send the following [copy?] of the bequeast that the College may know how to act in case of my death: — “Item, I do hereby give & bequeath to the President, Fellows & Burser of Harvard College in the State Massachusetts Bay in New-England as to the representatives for the time being of the said College, all my printed books that I am now or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease to be delivered by my executor, his heirs or assigns, to such person or persons in England as the President, Burser & Fellows aforesaid shall appoint to receive the same on their part for the College aforesaid.”

Be so good to send a copy of this to the College.

As I imagined at first, so I find now that it will not do for me to come to America 'till matters & opinions have taken their due course & direction. Having determined to quitt England, I shall in spring go to France & reside there, waiting — not till the waters of Bethesda *are moved* but on the contrary 'till the waters that have been troubled *are still*, for I love not troubled waters. Now I am going to mention a matter of which I am doubtfull how it may be understood & received. As I shall reside in France & have no rank or honors from my *native* country, I should be proud to owe the rank in which I should stand there from the country which I hope will one day or other adopt me. As I was once in a situation to give rank & honors to individuals of the Massachusetts Bay, when I governed it, would not the State in return give me the rank of Lt General or Major General of the Massachusetts State, from which comission I should be proud to take my rank in Europe or in France particularly. I will endeavor to do honor to it. As this will be only *en titre* it can neither committ the State nor me. Try this ground, my Friend, & if it

be practical gett my wish proposed; if not, do not subject me to a refusal. Direct for me to my brother, John Pownall, Esq^r, in Abingdon [Street], West^r, London. I leave him my agent during my absence & my executor in case of my death.

Your obliged & affe^t friend.

T. POWNALL.

LONDON, Jan. 11, 84; in my way to Bath, 'till spring.

THOMAS POWNALL TO ———.*

Jan. 15, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — As I have been (as to the employment of my service) proscribed by the government of my native country for these three & twenty years, since the warr made upon America is at an end, and the warr with France is succeeded by peace, I mean to stay no longer in this country. I cannot but think it best & most prudent on every account to suspend my idea of coming to America 'till some leading current takes its course, for if I were to come & find myself mixed amidst contending I as a disinterested & dispassionate man should be ill with, if not suspected by, both parties. I shall therefore for some time go & reside in France. Now as I have no publick rank in the world derived from any honors received from my native country, I wish to owe my rank in France to & to hold up my head high with the honors of the State Massachusetts Bay. When it was a Chartered Province I had the giving of these honors and I should hope, nay I almost feel that I merit, to receive the like from the Free Republick. If the State will give the commission & rank of Lieut. General to their old Cap^t General, I shall think myself raised in rank; I shall be

* It is doubtful to whom this letter was addressed, though it may have been to Temple. There is no address on the outside, and it was probably sent under cover. The letter of January 11, to Bowdoin, is marked on the outside as consisting of a single sheet. — Eds.

flattered & the State shall not be dishonoured. I putt this matter & my wishes intirely into your hands. If upon feeling the ground you find it will not do, — don't lett me be committed to a refusal. If you find it will do, I would wish you to propose it.

I am, d^r Sir, your obliged, faithfull & affec. friend.

T. POWNALL.

P. S. If this honor is done me I shall in France, & also if I should for any time return to England, there also wear everywhere the uniform & livery of the State that honors me ; should therefore be glad (in case of the event taking place) to receive some explanation as to that point. If Major General's commission is the *highest rank they give*, I shall be equally proud of that.

Pray direct to me at Mess^{rs} Drummonds, Bankers, Charing Cross. Do not write by the packet.

JOHN TEMPLE TO LORD WALSINGHAM.*

(Copy to Ld WALSINGHAM.)

PALL MALL, 11 March, 1784.

MY LORD, — Dining yesterday with some of the West India merchants & planters, I was informed of the proclamation now about to appear, granting permission for American vessells, to the size of only eighty tons burden, to trade with the sugar colonies in the West Indias, and also of the application made to government by Lord Penryn in behalf of the West Indians, together with my Lord Sydney's reasons for limiting the intercourse to such small vessells. You will, in my opinion, my Lord, do essential service to the ministry by attending to this business before such a proclamation appears, which, I

* Thomas de Grey, 2d Baron Walsingham, born July 14, 1748; died Jan. 16, 1818. At the time this letter was written Lord Walsingham had been recently appointed one of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. — Eds.

am confident, would do more hurt to this country, and create more ill-humor in the United States, than if nothing at all was for the present to be done in the matter. After a war between two countries, measures that make the first impression are much to be considered & attended to, in order to create good humor, confidence, and a lasting peace. The sensible & judicious part of the United States are already astonished at the impolitic ideas entertained & published in this kingdom concerning the intercourse between the two countries. Why would it not be best for the proposed limitation (if there must be a limitation to gratify such ill informed, wrong-headed men as Lord Sheffield & his employers) to extend to all vessells of single decks up to 150 tons burden? Such vessells seldom or ever bring sugars to Europe, which it seems is the great objection here made to an open trade: & suppose there sh^d casually such a vessell come to England freighted with sugar, the vessell would be here sold, as hath always been customary, to pay for British manufactures; & the American seamen who navigated her would be here discharged & become mariners in English employ. Seeing the commerce between the two countries as I do, & from long experience as a public man on both sides the Atlantic, I will submit to be called an idiot if the trade is not entirely laid open *by Parliament* before the revolution of another year. In the mean time sh^d the proposed proclamation appear very ill impressions would be made by it in America, & your rivals for the trade & friendly intercourse with those States are as attentive as possible to avail themselves of every mistaken policy of this country. In a word, such acts & proclamations would, as Mr Bowdoin of Boston (no enemy to this country) says in a late letter to me, prove mere acts of alination. The idea suggested by Mr Pitt last spring or summer for a commercial intercourse was highly pleasing to the United States, as calculated to unite the two countries in bonds

of lasting friendship & commerce. Sensible men in that country were of but one opinion concerning his plan, which they thus expressed, — “*that young statesman has hit the bird in the eye!*” I sincerely wish his original idea may be adopted, & that too as soon as possible, and am, my Lord,

Your most obedient servant.

J. TEMPLE.

R^T HON. LORD WALSINGHAM.

JOHN TEMPLE TO LORD WALSINGHAM.

PALL MALL, 12 March, 84.

MY LORD, — Yesterday I hastily gave you my thoughts, as you desired, upon the commercial intercourse between the American States & the British sugar colonies; and the more I think of the matter, the more I am astonished at the objections made to that trade’s being laid open, as it would beyond all doubt be for the mutual advantage of both countries. Every measure that may at this time appear narrow or higgling on the part of this country must be peculiarly detrimental to the re-establishment of that friendship, confidence, & commerce so much wished for by the sensible and wel-disposed on both sides the Atlantic.

I cannot consider the pamphlet written by Lord Sheffield in any other light than purposely to keep up ill humor between the two countries; & perhaps with design to embarrass & impede the measures of the present ministers, who, I understand, are disposed to act liberally upon the occasion.* I will in very few words assure you, my Lord, I am confident that if wisdom hath, as I hope & trust she hath, resumed her seat in this kingdom, Britain may still be as closely connected with & derive all the real advantages from those States that she did before she lost the government of them. You will at once

* The reference is to Lord Sheffield’s famous pamphlet entitled “Observations on the Commerce of the American States,” of which the first edition was published in 1783, and the sixth edition in 1784. A copy of the first edition is in the Library of the Historical Society. — EDS.

understand me; but, upon this subject, the ministry will no doubt obtain ample information from General Sir Guy Carleton, lately arrived from America; as the opportunities he has had of getting at the true state of affairs in that country have been great, and as his character is established in good sense & integrity, they will, no doubt, duely attend to his sentiments. Matters are now at trial. If Britain by injudicious fears, vissionary apprehensions, or continued procrastination, looses the opportunity that offers, her enemies will most assuredly avail themselves of the neglect.

Inclosed is a Boston paper sent me by the last ship from thence; it will in some measure shew you the idea now prevailing in the four New England States concerning an intercourse between them and the dominions of Great Britain. Thus have I written, my Lord, as you desired, because I sincerely wish that the present men in power may be a successfull & an happy ministry both for themselves & their country, and am, my Lord,

Your most obedient

J. TEMPLE.

R^t HON. LORD WALSHINGHAM.

JOHN TEMPLE TO SIR GUY CARLETON.*

(Copy to Sir GUY CARLETON.)

PALL MALL, June 1st, 1784.

SIR, — A ship is this morning arrived from Boston; by her I have letters from my friends in the New England States up to the 24th of April, all of them urgent

* Guy Carleton was born at Strabane, in Ireland, Sept. 3, 1724, and entered the army in his eighteenth year. Rising by slow degrees, he served under General Amherst at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. After further active service he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec in 1766. There he served, with some intervals, till near the close of the Revolutionary War, when he was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as Commander-in-Chief in America. After the evacuation of New York he returned to England. In 1786 he was again appointed Governor of Quebec and made Baron Dorchester. He did not finally leave Canada until July, 1796. He died Nov. 10, 1808. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. ix. pp. 93-95. — Eds.

upon me to remain no longer here in a state of uncertainty with regard to what concerns me personally. The only thing I stipulated with my friends and connections in those States before I came away, was that I would remain but a very short time in England without a decisive answer to what I had to propose; and you will remember, it was the only favor I asked, if I may not say stipulated with you in our correspondence while in America, that you would endeavour to obtain for me on your arrival such decisive answer from the ministry. I have not, nor do I mean to solicit any favors from England. A fair proposition has been made, and made as I think & certainly ment, in a frank & explicit manner. The ministry are to judge whether it be, or be not, for the national interest to comply with it. In consequence of your application for the purpose, I have had the honor of an interview with Mr. Pitt. He was manly & candid upon the general state of affairs in America, but I have learn'd nothing *decisive* with regard to myself. By my letters from the Northern States, I find that the interests of this country are suffering there, far beyond what the ministry seem to suppose, or than even what I had myself apprehended. I am sorry for it, but it would be imprudent in me, it would be unwise & unjust to both myself & my connections, (whatever my inclination or wishes may be towards England) to let my own interest suffer in America with those of this country by remaining here any longer without any kind of advantage to myself. The passing moments with regard to America are (no man better knows than yourself) both critical & important and particularly so with regard to myself. All the American ministers are now called home, or, which is the same thing, have leave to return. Jay sail'd last week for New York. Laurens sails this week for that country. Adams is making preparation for his departure; and Franklin, old as he is, is, I understand, determin'd to undertake a

voyage, with the Marquis *La Fayette* & Count *La Vall*,* to America, where, England having hitherto, in my humble opinion, neglected the field of sound policy, France, without any active rival, has the ball very much before her. May I therefore request of you, Sir, that you will, by a few lines to the minister, solicit a definitive answer to the proposition made to him? for I have already been too long in a state of uncertainty here in England, where I have no business of my own to detain me an hour after this matter is determined. Mr J. Bowdoin in one of his last letters requests the favor that his compliments may be acceptable to you, and I am, with great esteem & respect,

Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

J. TEMPLE.

LIEUT^T GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON, K. B.
Oxfordshire.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THOMAS POWNALL.†

THE HON. THO^S POWNALL, ESQ^R.

BOSTON, Aug. 21, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — I have had y^e pleasure of y^r letters of y^e 9th of Dec^r & 11th Jan^y.

The parts of them w^{ch} respected Harvard College, and y^e clause of your will bequeathing to y^e College your library, I communicated to the Presid^t and Corporation, and I am authorized to transmit to you their grateful acknowledgments for the generous bequest; and also for your intended donation of your Pownalborough land. I am sorry to tell you that what I informed you I had heard respecting the sale of that land is a real fact. The land was sold in 1780 for the non-payment of taxes, and

* The two most popular French officers that were in America during the late war.

† This letter was first printed in the Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 246–248. In his History of Harvard University, vol. ii. p. 407, President Quincy says that Pownall's proposed foundation of a professorship "proved altogether ineffectual." "The lands had, during the American war, without his knowledge, been sold for taxes, and after great trouble and expense in redeeming and getting possession of them, the produce of their sale but little exceeded three hundred dollars." The books referred to in Pownall's letters, *ante*, pp. 27, 31, do not appear to have been received by the College. — EDS.

y^e time of redemption expired in April or May, 1783. Application was made about it to y^e purchaser, one Christophers, who insisting on very unreasonable terms, the Presid^t & Corporation presented a memorial to the Gen^l Court on y^e subject. This brought Christophers to Boston, and occasioned several conferences upon it between them & him, w^{ch} finally issued in an agreement to pay him 300 Spanⁿ doll^{rs}, equal to £67.10 sterling, which accordingly has been paid to him by y^e College Treasurer. As y^e fee of y^e land had legally passed to Christophers, this was y^e best bargain that could be made with him. I am authorized by your letter of y^e 11th Jan^y to pay y^e taxes and charges for you and draw on you for y^e amount. But as the money paid for y^e recovery of the land exceeds that amount by £40, I did not think myself warranted to draw on you for it without your expressed approbation.

With respect to the commission of L^t or Major General, I consulted with several confidential friends on y^e subject, the L^t Gov^r (& he with y^e Gov^r) M^r Adams, M^r Osgood, a member of Congress & of our House of Rep^s, and several other gentlemen of both houses, who all expressed a great regard for you, and some of them from personal knowledge. Your political character while Governour here and since made them wish to give some honourable mark of their esteem, and particularly to distinguish you from y^e Governours which succeeded you; and they could not think of any way of doing it more likely than by such a commission which they would use their influence to obtain. Thus far the business seemed to be in a good train; but by after-conversations on y^e subject, it appeared that objections were made, that y^e law had limited to three the number of Major Generals (no superior commissions except the Governour's having been conferred) and their commissions had been issued; that those commissions and all our other military commissions must have respect to the militia of y^e State; that to grant such a commission

to y^e subject of a foreign state w^d be inconsistent with good policy; and altho' meerly honourary, it would be a precedent which w^d encourage & justify the subjects of France of a distinguished character and subjects of other foreign states, in applying for like commissions, the granting or refusal of which might involve the State in disagreeable consequences; &c., &c.

These objections induced us to think it probable that a motion in either house for such a commission, however well supported, would fail of success. It was therefore determined eligible that the motion should be postponed; especially as it was your wish, that we w^d not "commit you on uncertainties." However, if the objections can be obviated, it will give me real pleasure to be in any degree instrumental in effecting this measure to your satisfaction. You mention you had sent me thro the hands of Mr Adams one of your pamphlets directed to the Sovereigns of America; but I have not yet rec^d it. I have had one from another gentleman, and have read it with pleasure. There are observations in it which merit the consideration of Congress & the United States; and to which I hope they will pay due attention.

With y^e most affectionate regards, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yr m^o ob^t hble. sert.

JOHN TEMPLE TO ———.*

PALL MALL, Tuesday Morn.,
August 31, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — I have this instant received your letter of the 29th from Farnham; but have not heard a word from

* Our late associate R. C. Winthrop, Jr., has indorsed this letter in pencil "To Bishop of Winchester?" The Bishop of Winchester at the time the letter was written was Brownlow North, a half-brother of Frederick, Lord North; and while the reference to Farnham might suggest that the Bishop was the person addressed, it seems more probable that the letter was written to George Rose, who had not long before become a supporter of Mr. Pitt, and had been made Secretary to the Treasury. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xli. pp. 146, 147; vol. xlix. pp. 226-230. — Eds.

Mr Pitt since I was with him about three weeks ago; altho' he then assured me, as he did at the first interview I had the honor of having with him, that in a very few days I sh^d hear again from him.

Is it not almost infatuation that a business so plain as that on which I came to England at the instance of the Commander in Chief abroad sh^d remain so long unfinished? Is it possible that so reasonable a proposal as I have made, concerning myself personally, sh^d cause government to pause on that account? I asked no more in emolument than that I might be fairly repaired the injustice done me by the late minister in his mad career at ruining the empire & thereby to be only as well off as those incendiaries, Bernard & Hutchinson, who became the willing instruments of such irreparable mischief, to be only as well off as I sh^d have been had I remained in office, when from such reparation, in justice due to my family, if I died to-morrow solid & important national advantages would undoubtedly result to this country? for I need not tell you, (your late Commander in Chief Sir Guy Carleton from personal knowledge, Dr Price, Mr Jackson, Lord Barrington, Sir Cecil Wray, Mr Trecothick, Lord Dartmouth, & others, who have been written to on the subject, by sincere friends to this country, can inform you) that no small part of the United States, particularly those of New England, will be established in good or ill humour with this government, according to its attention to this business I came about, and are now waiting with impatience the result of my visit here, where in truth I have been too long in a state of uncertainty to be consistent with my own personal interest.

With regard to the policy to be observed by this country towards the American States, I have so fully and so faithfully given my sentiments upon it, that it is unnecessary for me at present to say any thing more, further than that I have no inflexible opinions which

would prevent me, sh^d I become a servant of the Crown of England, from faithfully & zealously entering into the measures of my superiors in government. When I do place a confidence in any gentleman, it is almost an unlimited confidence; from what I have myself observed, & from the character I have heard of him, I have such a confidence in M^r Rose, & therefore I will enclose you an extract of a letter I yesterday received from my Lord Temple, with whom I have had since I saw M^r Pitt some confidential conversation both with regard to his own present situation and to mine. His sentiments appear to me to be clear, manly, & decided. I wish he had, & I hope he soon will have, a share in the executive government of this country.

I intended to have called & to have suggested some observations which might be usefull to M^r Atkinson, if he means to maintain his ground (which is undoubtedly *good* ground) against the incendiary writers in opposition to him, but upon consideration, I think it is better for me to decline it untill I have the honor to hear from Downing Street.

I need not again request that the enclosed extract & sentiments concerning it may be confined to your own perusal.

With great esteem I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

J. TEMPLE.

Will you do me the favor by return of the post to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, as I shall not be perfectly easy till I know it hath not miscarried.

MRS. JOHN TEMPLE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PALL MALL, March the 7th, 1785.

MY DEAR FATHER,—It is long, very long, since I did myself the honour of writing to you; a fear of being

troublesome and a diffidence of affording you entertainment have been my reasons; and particularly as I have never omitted writing to my mother by every opportunity, it has seemed unnecessary for me to trouble you with a repetition of my poor ideas. I cannot now resist the desire of acquainting my dear papa that the last Tuesday's Gazzett announced Mr Temple's appointment,* and on Friday he kiss'd hands, as I am sure he participates with a truly parental heart with us at the smiles of Fortune; we have indeed tasted deep of the bitter cup, but it has taught experience; we mean only to sip gently of the sweet, and nurse her smiles. Honesty is the best policy, a proverb truly verified in my husband, — he has suffered for it; he is now rewarded for it. We cannot yet say when we shall embark, but I do suppose it will be the last of April or the beginning of May. We are however making every necessary preparation for our voyage. Mr Temple met with a very elegant little writing table which we both thought would please you from its lightness, neatness, & conveniency, and he thinks it will not be less acceptable for having been the great Earl of Chatham's. It was sold with some other things of his that came from Hays at his brokers. Cap^t Scott has taken it under his particular charge; I have put into the drawers all the late papers. I wish I had some news to amuse my dear papa; but the truth is that my poor head is almost bereft of the little sense it had by the continual noise; one party crying Fox for ever — the other No Fox. On Friday the scrutiny for Westminster ended, the high bailiff made his return, when Mr Fox was found to be one of the members. His mob therefore assembled, obliged every body to light their houses, and on Saturday night the same; not content with this, they have this day drawn him in his carriage without horses to the House of Commons, and as

* As Consul General for Great Britain in the United States. — Eds.

soon as it was dark every one has been ordered to put up candles or have their windows brock ; it is now past twelve o'clock, the streets are as full and as noisey as at high noon. So much of this noise will put an end to his small remains of popularity, as it seems to give a disgust even to those who have seem'd to wish him well, for encouraging so much rioting and idleness. I have wrote my mother a long letter; my best affections to her, in which I am joind by M^r Temple and in dutiful respects to you; and I beg you will believe me, my dear Father,

Your dutiful and affectionate daughter.

E. TEMPLE.

I have put into Betsey's drawers a box of very excellent corn salve which has a very great reputation here.

ROBERT EMMET TO JOHN TEMPLE.*

MY D^r S^a,—In due time I rec^d your favor, and am satisfyd that your silence did not proceed from any neglect of or indifference to the point I sollicitd you upon.† You certainly must be the best judge of the most probable means for succeeding, and in that opinion I was perfectly easy as to the mode. I am glad that the subject of my suit does not appear unreasonable to you, and I would feign hope that success would consequently attend it, not that success is always the attendant of even the most reasonable suits, but at any rate you have my most sincere thanks ; and believe me when I assure you, that your success in your own application will always give me infinitely more pleasure than a refusal in mine would give uneasiness. I felt for your situation & am

* Dr. Robert Emmet was an eminent physician in Dublin ; but he is now best known as the father of two more distinguished sons, Thomas Addis Emmet, who died in New York, in 1827, and Robert Emmet, who was executed for high treason in 1803. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xvii. pp. 362-364. — Eds.

† Dr. Emmet had written to Temple with reference to obtaining an increased salary as "State Physician" in Dublin. — Eds.

really happy that you are at last honorably provided for and independant. May no cloud darken the sunshine of remaining life. I have mentiond what you desird to Capt. Fenton* whose waspish father is freed from the cares of this life, and has left his two daughters without sixpence to provide a loaf of bread. What can be done for them I do not well know, but as the father substantiated claims upon government to a very considerable amount, possibly moderate pensions may be obtaind for them on a dereliction of their proportion of their claims. Something in this way is all that at present occurs to my son or me to be done for them, but any assistance in our powers they certainly shall not want. I take the liberty of enclosing herewith a letter for my second son, who will be in London I believe about the time this may reach you. I shall not say any thing in his favor, more than he hitherto has never damp'd my most sanguine expectations. Few parents can look with the contented pride and satisfaction which I do on both my grown up sons, and the young one seems to stand as fair for honorable fame, if I may judge of a child's talents. Temple you know, and I tell you with pleasure that he is on the high ground of his profession, lov'd and esteem'd by every one who knows him; and I have had the same character of Tom from Scotland. I must likewise add in justice to my third son, Grenville (for tho he is your heir, I cannot help in some measure calling him my third son) that he will I trust one day make as great a figure in his country as Temple will in Ireland; and he will then I think be the first lawyer in America. Adieu, present my affect^t regards to M^{rs} Temple. It is hard, methinks, that Mr Jackson, Tracy and [*illegible*] nephew John should come to Ireland to take passage for America,

* Capt. John Fenton married Elizabeth, a younger sister of John Temple. See Boston Rec. Com. Rep., vol. xxx. p. 16; N. E. Gen. and Hist. Reg., vol. x. p. 75; 2 Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 413. — Eds.

and you will do it from England. If your ship should touch at Cork, will you give me the pleasure of at least seeing you? Could you not regulate matters so as to come to Ireland and be ready when the ship you are to go out in should call at Cork to embark? but I am wishing, I fear, in vain. Adieu again, may you be always happy.

Yours very sincerely.

ROB^t EMMET.

DUBLIN, April 17, 1785.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR BOWDOIN TO THE GENERAL
COURT.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND GENTLEMEN OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

You having done me the honour of electing me to the office of chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, I take this opportunity of declaring my acceptance of it.

I have a due sense of the honour you have conferred, and shall express it more fully as soon as may be after the complete organization of the government.

I have understood, Gent^l, that several things have, with great assiduity, been suggested to the disadvantage of my political character; and particularly, that I am under British influence. The other suggestions (so far as I have heard of them) are of little importance; but this is of such a nature that I find myself obliged to take some notice of it. I would therefore observe, that an honest man, whose character as such I am conscious belongs to me, cannot take the oath of office required by the constitution and at the same time be under such an influence.

That oath was deemed a sufficient guard against the influence suggested, and my taking it may satisfy you there was no ground for the suggestion. But, Gentlemen, as it is essential to the good of the Commonwealth,

that the people at large and the General Court in particular should have a firm trust and confidence in the integrity of their first magistrate, my duty to them and to my own character requires that I should explicitly declare at my first entering upon that important office, and I do accordingly declare, that I never have been, that I am not, and (so far as a man can affirm in regard to his future conduct) that I will not be, under any foreign influence whatever; but on the contrary that the whole of my administration shall in every respect according to my best knowledge and ability be conducted by the principles of the constitution.

Though this declaration may be unnecessary with regard to you, Gentlemen, as I am sure it is in regard to those who are fully acquainted with my political principles and character, it may notwithstanding be proper in reference to the good people of the Commonwealth in general; especially as the suggestions above-mentioned have been very widely disseminated.

I am now ready, Gentlemen, to take the oaths of office pursuant to the requisitions of the constitution.

SENATE CHAMBER, May 27, 1785.

RICHARD PRICE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SIR, — I received with particular satisfaction your kind note and the copy printed at Boston of my pamphlet on the American Revolution. Your attention to me in this instance does me great honour and deserves my best thanks. I commit to Providence this attempt to assist the United States in making such an improvem^t of their present situation as may render it a blessing to them and to the world. I may be mistaken in many points; but I am conscious of having no other intention than to pro-

* For a notice of Dr. Price and a large collection of letters to him, see 2 Proceedings, vol. xvii. pp. 262-378. — Eds.

mote according to the best of my judgm^t the best interests of society. There has been lately an edition of this pamphlet publish'd in London with a translation of M^r Turgot's letter and some other additions. I have sent a few copies of this edition to Boston by M^r Jackson, who, probably, will be arrived there long before this letter can reach you, which is to be convey'd in a packet directed to two brothers of the name of Lewis, who have for some time resided at Boston and carried on the business of linnen-drapers there. I am informed that these two young men are on account of their coming immediately from Hallifax suspected to be Tories and refugees. But no suspicion can be more unjust. There are few families with which I have been so long and so well acquainted. The father was a dissenting minister in this country of the best character and principles. He left six sons and a daughter who, I believe, are all of them virtuous and worthy and zealous friends to civil and religious liberty and American independence. The daughter has a large family and makes a valuable part of my congregation. I hope you will have the goodness to excuse me for mentioning these particulars. I mean nothing but to prevent two honest men from suffering by a groundless suspicion; and my principal intention in this letter is to convey to you my grateful acknowledgm^{ts} of the notice you have taken of me, and to assure you that, with great respect and all good wishes, I am, S^r,

Your very obed^t and humble serv^t.

RICH^d PRICE.

NEWINGTON-GREEN, NEAR LONDON, May 31st, 1785.

I have just seen M^{rs} Temple. I find that it is probable that you have now received the highest testimony of approbation that can be given by the voice of a free people. Should this be the case, I hope you will pardon the impropriety in my manner of addressing you and accept my sincere congratulations.

ROBERT EMMET TO JOHN TEMPLE.

MY DE S^r,— Having rec^d a letter a few posts ago from Tom informing me that a recommendation had been made to M^r Orde by the minister's desire in my favor, I thought it would be but right to inform M^r Orde of the nature of my suit, in order to his being qualifyd to comply with that recommendation. I accordingly waited upon him yesterday with a memorial for his Grace of Rutland,* stateing all the particulars which I had before mentioned to you, and submitting to his justice and dignity the propriety of encreasing my salary. In the course of conversation wherein nothing definite passd Mr. Orde asked me whether a son of yours did not live with me, and mention'd his having been recommended to his notice by a letter from you and two or three other friends in England, but did not say one word of any manner of recommendation on the subject I was then addressing for, which I own surprizd me as I thought it would be very natural for him on such an occasion to have said "that he had been written to on it, and would with pleasure, or was sorry that he could not, forward my suit," and I thought it but proper to intimate the point to you, least possibly in the very great and unavoidable hurry which M^r Rose has been for some time precipitated in, he may have forgotten, or inattentively express'd the nationally immaterial matter of my suit, which however is to me of very great consequence, being the intended allowance for the poor young physician whose name I have had the good luck of having inserted in the patent with mine thro the goodness of the Marquis of Buckingham. I am therefore to request your hinting M^r Orde's not having mentiond any thing of the recommen-

* Charles Manners, 4th Duke of Rutland, was, when this letter was written, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Thomas Orde was Chief Secretary. Dr. Emmet held the appointment of physician to the Lord Lieutenant. — Eds.

dation if you think proper so to do to M^r Rose — otherwise not. All my family join in respectfull comp^s to you and M^{rs} Temple, with y^r very affect

ROB^t EMMET.

June 2, 1785.

M^r Orde has sent a card of invitation for Grenville to dine with him next Sunday.

ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

We the subscribers, Merchants and Traders in the Town of Boston, beg leave to congratulate your Excellency, while we felicitate our country, upon your appointment to the office of Chief Magistrate in this Commonwealth.

As a people we are by no means in an eligible situation; our finances are deranged, our commerce exposed, and our government has not yet acquired that degree of energy and of dignity which is essentially necessary to our national happiness. Thus circumstanced, we cannot but be highly pleased at your being placed at the head of government, since from the exercise of wisdom, prudence, industry, œconomy, and those other virtues which you so eminently possess, we may reasonably hope for the most happy effects, as well upon our habits and manners as a people as upon the general state of our public affairs.

But we esteem it a peculiar felicity that in the present alarming state of our commerce, we have for our Governor a gentleman who cannot fail to sympathize with us at the gloomy prospect of our declining trade, and who we doubt not will chearfully make every exertion in his power to render us again respectable as a commercial people.

Sensible that you are now placed in a very arduous and important station, and desirous of rendering its du-

ties easy to yourself and beneficial to the public, we shall on every occasion with chearfulness and alacrity give you the utmost assistance in our power.

May your health and your usefulness to this people be long continued, and may you ever enjoy, not only the high satisfaction which results from a conscious integrity and rectitude of conduct, but the rational applause of a grateful people.

JACOB WILLIAMS
 SAMUEL BROWN
 CROWELL HATCH
 THOM^S L. WINTHROP
 NATHANIEL GORHAM
 THO^S HICHBORN
 MUNGO MACKAY
 JOHN MARSTON
 JOSEPH HEAD
 W^M GRAY
 HERMAN BRIMMER
 JOHN BROMFIELD
 THOMAS DENNIE
 JOHN HURD
 CHAMBERS RUSSELL
 ELISHA DOANE
 TIM^O NEWELL
 JN^O ANDREWS
 JON^H AUSTIN
 W^M BRECK
 HENRY JACKSON
 ISAIAH DOANE
 TRISTRAM COFFIN
 WILLIAM PARSONS
 DANIEL SARGENT
 MARTIN BRIMMER
 JOSEPH BARRELL

W^M PHILLIPS
 EBENEZER STORER
 EDWARD PAYNE
 WILL. POWELL
 LEO: JARVIS
 SAM^L BRECK
 SAM^L BARRETT
 JOHN COFFIN JONES
 EBEN PARSONS
 W^M FOSTER
 CHARLES SIGOURNEY
 JON^A MASON
 DAN. HUBBARD
 D^P SEARS
 THOMAS LEE
 SAMUEL CONANT, JR
 JOHN CODMAN, JUN
 W^M SMITH
 ROB^T M^CNEILL
 WILLIAM PHILLIPS, JUN^R
 ISAAC SMITH
 TIMOTHY FITCH
 STEPHEN BRUCE
 JOHN ERVING, JU^R
 NEHEMIAH SOMES
 JOSEPH COOLIDGE
 ELISHA TURNER

WILL. SHATTUCK	SAMUEL PARKMAN
SHRIMPTON HUTCHINSON	JON ^A JACKSON
JOHN WHEELWRIGHT	EDWARD DAVIS
JOSEPH RUSSELL, JUN	JOHN BROWNE
JOB PRINCE	STEPHEN HIGGINSON
SAM. A. OTIS	SAM. SWAN
SAM. BRADSTREET	SAM ^L ELIOT
JOSEPH FOSTER	

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^R.
BOSTON, June 4, 1785.

ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

BOSTON, 7th June, 1785.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^R, &c., &c.

May it please your Excellency :

We the Committee of Tradesmen & Manufacturers of the Town of Boston do in their names congratulate your Excellency on your appointment to the chief seat of government.

It affords us the highest pleasure at this interesting period, that a gentleman is placed at the head of the Commonwealth who is so particularly acquainted with the interest of this country, & on whose wisdom, integrity, & decision we can so confidently rely.

Your Excellency's disposition to encourage the manufactures of this country (the embarrassed state of which has not escaped your notice) gives us the most pleasing expectation of your patronage & support ; & we anticipate the fond idea that measures will soon be adopted by this State fully adequate to the removal of the difficulties under which we at present labour.

The unanimity which so generally prevails throughout the several branches of the Legislature we conceive a happy presage to produce those national blessings, so

earnestly desired by every sincere friend to the independence of America.

May your administration be happy, may union & stability prevail in all our public councils, & may your Excellency by a faithfull discharge of the important duties of your station ever receive the warmest acknowledgements of the people over whom you preside.

SAM^L JARVIS

ROBERT M^CELROY

JN^O SKINNER

BARNAB^S WEBB

JEFFREY RICHARDSON

JOSEPH LOVERING

W: FROBISHER

EBEN^R FOSTER

MOSES RING

AND^W NEWELL

MATT^W CLARK

JOHN GRAY

GIBBINS SHARP

GEORGE LUSH

SAMUEL BARRETT

BENJ['] AUSTIN, JUN.^R

SARSON BELCHER

WILLIAM HAWES

JOSHUA WITHERLE

SAM^L BANGS

JAMES WAKEFEILD

GAWEN BROWN

JOHN DYER

JOHN B. GOULD

JON^A KETTELL

ROBERT EMMET TO JOHN TEMPLE.

MY D^R S^R, — Yesterday I rec^d your very friendly favor encloseing a copy of your letter to M^r Orde, for which you have my most gratefull acknowledgments, whether it shall be productive or not the wish of a friend and the affection of a kinsman are obvious in it, & intention, is what I chiefly look to in all human transactions; the event being wholly in the disposal of a higher power. Accept my thanks again, and were I to solicit another favor from you, it would be your enabling me to pay them personally to you in Ireland. Surely a week might

be dedicated to seeing your nieces and kinsmen who cannot go to see you; of Grenville I say nothing, as he is not so circumstanc'd, but surely you may see him to as much advantage in Ireland as in England, and your jaunt here, accompanyd by M^{rs} Temple (for without her, we one and all object to your comeing) would not be much more expensive than his going to England and return home. Do seriously consider it, and if you conveniently can comply, do not refuse what would give such real pleasure to so many friends. Three days brings you to the Head; eight or ten hours to Dublin, and in Dublin a friend's house and warmest wellcome shall receive you, without sixpence expence. Prithee try and oblige in this one instance. As to my young Doct^r who I believe troubles you every day — I have sent a paquet for him which I shall beg of you to deliver, and the contents of which I need not mention as he undoubtedly will make you acquainted with it. The oddity of it may make you laugh; if it does so much the better. 'T was the whim of a moment, if worth trying to realize he may do it; if not he may let it resolve into its primitive transiency, and end there. Your nieces Fenton must feel extremely obligd by the very active part which you have taken in trying to procure an independence for them. It may not equal their expectations and fall very farr short of their wishes; but it is a great deal to be put above wretchedness and dependence, the only legacies their father could leave them; and you have been a most affectionate parent in procureing it for them. May your wishes to serve your friends be productive of such events in your own favor as to make assistance of friends scarcely necessary to you or yours.

I am, my d^r S^r, with very great regard,

Affec^y yours.

ROB^t EMMET.

DUBLIN, June 7, 1785.

SAMUEL OSGOOD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NEW YORK, June 20th, 1785.

SIR, — Whenever any event takes place which tends greatly to promote the true interests of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, my affection for her will not permit me to refrain from expressing sentiments of the most sincere satisfaction. Among the many instances which have inspired me with gratitude to Heaven for a favorable interposition, there are a few of that importance that they will never fail to make the deepest impressions on my mind.

The surrender of the British army at Saratoga.

The approbation of the good people of Massachusetts of the frame of government that was proposed to them.

The termination of the late war in the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of America; & a treaty of peace much more favorable than many expected.

These were great & happy events. And permit me, Sir, to add one to the number which must afford every virtuous man sincere pleasure, because it is an evidence of the wisdom & virtue of the Commonwealth, which is that of your Excellency's appointment to & acceptance of the chair of government.

Notwithstanding the limitation of power, yet your Excellency will have a great opportunity of displaying the true principles of a virtuous republican patriot, by a uniform adherence to the spirit of our excellent constitution, which I am sure will be adopted by you as a rule not to be varied from in your administration.

That plain, unaffected conduct which marked you as

* Samuel Osgood was born in Andover, Mass., Feb. 14, 1748, graduated at Harvard College in 1770, and died in New York Aug. 12, 1813. He took a very active part in public affairs, and filled many important offices under the State and the national governments. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. p. 600. — Eds.

one of the most worthy of the private citizens, because it evidenced a disposition not to procure preferment by undue means, will be equally valuable in public life, where example is frequently productive of the most happy consequences.

Without knowledge & virtue in the people as well as their magistrates, a republican government may become more oppressive & more dangerous than almost any other kind of government. It is therefore sincerely to be wished that they may be placed in such an advantageous point of light as to render them estimable in the highest degree. And I flatter myself that in this view, as in all others, your Excellency will be peculiarly instrumental in promoting the happiness of the Commonwealth; and in having done this, I doubt not, you will have obtained the ultimate object of your wishes.

I have to request that your Excellency will pardon me for intruding thus far; and that you will believe me to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

SAMUEL OSGOOD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^R.

ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

The Inhabitants of the Town of Newbury Port beg leave to express to your Excellency their great satisfaction at your promotion to the place of first Magistrate of this Commonwealth.

The critical state of our commerce and the weight of public debt that presses us demand the strictest attention to every commercial and œconomical principle that may extricate us from our embarrassed situation; and it gives us the greatest pleasure to reflect that we

have by the blessing of Heaven a Governor whose abilities, integrity, and unremitted attention to the interests of the people, will provide every remedy in the power of the supreme executive authority of this Commonwealth.

When we look back to your Excellency's conduct during the administrations of the late royal governors, at a time when the rights and liberties of the people were struggling against the encroachments of ambition and the lust of power, when secret influence aided by all the douceurs in the gift of royalty was making large strides to divide and oppress us; we find your Excellency, unawed by power, unseduced by the flattering attentions of its artful minions, uniformly employed in stemming the torrent of corruption and in supporting the privileges and freedom of your country. We cannot therefore but view it as an auspicious omen to our fellow citizens, that at this time the same gentleman is placed in the chair of government, that he may contribute to the preserving and continuing of those political blessings he was so greatly instrumental in procuring. We hope your Excellency will not consider this address as indicating an inclination to enjoy the particular attentions of the supreme Magistrate. We know your Excellency too well to expect any other advantages from your administration than what we shall receive in common with our fellow citizens; and it is our own opinion that such advantages only have we a right to expect. We are however fully sensible that the best administration of the several powers of government will not alone render a people happy. They must contribute to this benevolent design by a steady adherence to the principles of piety, religion, and morality: these principles ought to be widely diffused and deeply implanted. And it gives us sincere pleasure that the tenor of your Excellency's life exhibits a distinguished example worthy of our imitation. As the powers with which your Excellency is invested by the Constitution are a trust

delegated by the people, to be employed for their benefit, we beg your Excellency to be assured that in the application of them you shall receive from us every assistance we can afford you, necessary to render your administration honourable to yourself and useful to the public.

By order and in behalf of the Town,

EDW ^d WIGGLESWORTH	} Select
M. HODGE	
DAVID COATS	} Men.
WILL ^m COOMBS	
W ^m BARTLET	

July 7th, 1785.

At a legal meeting of the freeholders & other inhabitants of the Town of Newburyport, by law qualified to vote in Town affairs, held this seventh day of July, A. D. 1785.

Whereas, the Town at this meeting, have ordered an address signed by the Select Men on their behalf to be presented to his Excellency the Governor,

Voted, that Honb^l Nathⁿ Tracy, Theophilus Parsons, and Honb^l Tristram Dalton, Esq^{rs}, be a Committee to present the same.

Attest. M. HODGE, Town Clerk.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE CLINTON.*

BOSTON, July 18, 1785.

HIS EXC^y GEORGE CLINTON, Esq.,
Gov^r of y^e State of New York.

SIR, — The enclosed order of the Legislature of this Commonwealth will shew to y^r Exc^y their sense of the proceedings of the Legislature of the State of New York in regard to the territory lying to the westward of Hudson's river, and claimed by this State.

* Printed from a rough draught in Bowdoin's handwriting, with numerous interlineations and corrections. — Eds.

An attempt by either State to purchase of the natives their right in that territory, and to dispose of, grant, or settle any part of it, while their respective claims, (submitted to the decision of commissioners mutually chosen, under the authority of Congress) remain undecided, would, as we conceive, be judged by the States disinterested as altogether improper. And the impropriety of such a measure in itself considered, but especially considered in relation to the confederation, and the principles upon which *that* is bottomed, prevented this State from adopting it.

Though it appears by the New York newspapers, that your Exc^y with the other commissioners of the land office had returned from Fort Herkimer, having there held a treaty with the Oneida and other Indians, in pursuance of an act of the Legis. of New York, and accomplished your business very successfully, we cannot entertain a thought that either your Exc^y or your Legislature can intend, or will suffer, the cession or grant of lands made to your State by those Indians to operate in any respect whatever to the disadvantage of this Commonwealth.

By that Act passed y^e 11th of April last for facilitating the settlement of the waste lands claimed to be within y^e State of New York, it appears that the measures for accomplishing that business are to be pursued with great dispatch; and for that purpose that y^e Surveyor General was directed by it to remove his office by the first of June (last) to Albany.

You will permit me to observe here, that although the Legislature of this State have no right to intermeddle in matters out of their jurisdiction, yet as your Exc^y must know or have reason to think that the said Act and the proceedings in consequence of it, have respect to a territory claimed by this State, they will not incur your censure for the order they have passed on y^e occasion; and you will think it my duty to request, and accordingly in the name and behalf of the Legislature of this State, I

do request your Excellency, that all proceedings relative to those lands may be stayed until the Commissioners appointed for the purpose shall have determined the right of the two governments in them.

With the utmost respect, I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yr. Exc^y's most ob^t hble. servant.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM NEWBURYPORT.

GENTLEMEN, — The Address of the Town of Newbury Port, conceived in terms so respectful, does me great honour.

I beg the favour of the Selectmen to signify to the Town my grateful acknowledgments for it; and that you, Gentlemen, their worthy Committee, would accept my thanks for the polite manner in which it has been communicated.

It is very unfortunate that at a time when the weight of the public debt presses heavily upon us our commerce should be in so embarrassed a state. This embarrassment, however, was an effect to be expected from the excessive importations that have taken place; but very happily, it will work its own cure, which will be hastened by a strict attention to the principles so judiciously pointed out by the address. An attention to the same principles will also operate to the diminution and final discharge of the public debt. I should be happy in suggesting means that would in either case co-operate with those principles.

In the mean time, amidst the embarrassments arising from the greatness of that debt, it must give a high satisfaction to reflect that it purchased the liberty of our country.

That liberty and that debt, in circumstances like ours, are in our ideas of them necessarily associated; and the latter, however pressing, considered in that association, cannot be deemed an evil.

To every person not wholly destitute of sensibility it must give a real pleasure to be assured that his public conduct is approved by his countrymen; especially when it has a reference to times and circumstances peculiarly difficult and interesting. The assurances now given that my past conduct has been thus approved give me the highest satisfaction. And it shall be my endeavour in the important station in which my countrymen have placed me that they shall have no reason to withdraw their good opinion.

The good people of Newbury Port, too generous to indulge a monopolizing spirit, wish from administration for those advantages only which their fellow citizens in general have in common with themselves a right to expect. And these, so far as my influence shall extend, they certainly shall receive.

The best administration of government (as they justly observe) will not alone render a people happy. They must contribute to their own happiness by an adherence to the principles recommended in the address. "Those principles ought to be," and I wish to see them, "widely diffused and deeply implanted."

I thank the Town for the assurances they have so obligingly given that in the application of the powers with which I am vested by the Constitution I shall receive from them every assistance they can afford, necessary to render the administration of government honourable to the Governour and useful to the publick.

On my part it is proper to assure them that as those powers were derived from the people to be employed for their benefit, the assistance of my brother citizens of Newbury Port shall be requested only in cases in which the affording it shall conduce to their own honour and benefit, and to the honour and benefit of the Commonwealth.

Boston, July 22, 1785.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THE GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
BOSTON, July 27, 1785.

SIR, — I have observd a law passd by the Legislature of Connecticutt, whereby a duty is laid on goods imported into that State from any of the United States, while the same goods are exempted from a duty if imported into that State from a foreign country. This distinction, so manifestly giving a preference to foreigners in prejudice to the United States, it is to be feared, may be construed as indicating an abatement of that mutual affection and good humour which subsisted among them in the time of their calamity & distress; which was indispensibly necessary while they were jointly struggling against common injury, and which will be equally necessary while they continue, as they at present are, embarkd in the same common interest and exposed to common danger.

By the blessing of Heaven, our united conflict with the late invaders of our right hath terminated in independence. But should those invaders, who appear not to be possessd of that friendly temper which becomes nations in amity by solemn treaty, discover a disposition in the United States to treat each other as foreigners, and even to indulge strangers in benefits of commerce to the exclusion of each other from an equal share in such benefits, will they not entertain hopes, & will not those hopes be too well grounded, that an undue attachment to separate interests in individual States may be productive of cold indifference towards each other, of total disregard, of jealousy, animosity, and even hatred? and that in so divided and jarring a condition these States may in time be subdued with ease, although they were proof against the whole strength of their enemies while they continued an united band of friends. Experience has taught the

world that friendship among confederated states may be dissolved as well as between private men ; in both cases the same latent cause may produce the same train of effects.

But the act above referd to not only injures in its operation the foreign commerce of this Commonwealth, but prevents its citizens from vending articles of their own manufacture to the citizens of Connecticut. This must be considered as the more exceptionable, inasmuch as for the sake of cementing the Union which is the true policy of the confederated Commonwealth, our laws exact no duties on the manufactures of any of the United States, and in regard to commerce their citizens respectively stand upon a footing with our own.

I beg your Excellency to take the subject of this letter into your consideration, and if you think proper to communicate the same to the Legislature of Connecticut. I have the honour to be, with unfeigned sentiments of friendship & esteem,

Sir, yr. Exc^{ys} most obed^t hble. serv^t.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,
THE GOV OF Y^E STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.*

(Circular.)

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
BOSTON, July 28th, 1785.

SIR, — In compliance with the inclosed resolutions of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, I transmit for the perusal of your Excellency an Act passed in their last session for the regulating of Navigation and Commerce. This Act is intended as a temporary expedient to prevent as far as it is in the power of the Legislature of a single

* Printed from the original given to the Historical Society in August, 1858, by Hon. William Appleton. See Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 120, 121, where the letter is also printed -- EDS.

State the effects of a system of commercial policy adopted by the British government, which, it is conceived, will be ruinous to the trade of the United States. That nation seems to build her hopes and expectations of carrying these plans into execution upon a supposed interference of commercial interests among these States, and a mutual jealousy arising therefrom, which will render it impracticable for them to agree to vest Congress with a sufficient power to regulate the trade of the United States. But such hopes must be grounded upon an antecedent, and, I would hope, mistaken opinion that these States in the time of their prosperity have lost that sense of honor and justice, that mutual feeling of friendship and attachment, and above all that public virtue and supreme regard to the interest and safety of the *whole*, which so powerfully actuated them in the day of common danger, and which will be ever essentially necessary so long as they shall continue to be one great confederated commonwealth. It highly concerns *united sovereign* States duly to attend to the ruling principles of all well regulated societies; and it concerns them the more, because they may be more apt than others to forget that the interest of individuals must be governed by that of the whole.

It is much to be desired that Congress may be vested with a well *guarded* power to regulate the trade of the United States. This being effected, the Act of our Commonwealth will cease to operate. In the mean time it is to be relied on that the mutual friendship and good humour of the several States towards each other, their sentiments of honour and justice, will be a sufficient pledge that when measures wisely calculated to defeat the unjust designs of foreigners against the trade or general interest of the United States are taken by any individual State they may be adopted by all, so that no one State may be left to suffer essentially in its own trade by its laudable zeal and exertion for the common safety.

I shall from time to time transmit to your Excellency such Acts of the Legislature of this Commonwealth as may regard the general interest of the Confederacy, or that of your State in particular, and request you to oblige me with similar communications.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem,
Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BOSTON, Aug. 12, 1785.

HON^{BLE} BENJ^A FRANKLIN, ESQ.

DEAR SIR, — I have the honour of enclosing to you several memoirs which about two years ago were read to the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. You will observe they originated from a review of letters and papers that had passed between us on philosophical subjects; and that they contain some observations on a paragraph or two of your printed letters. I should need to apologize for this liberty, did I not know your liberality of sentiment; and that you would wish the improvement of science, whether the principles from which it resulted coincided, or not, with your own.

Those memoirs will make a part of a volume now printing here under the direction of y^e Academy. It will be completed in a few months, when I shall transmit a copy to your Exc^y unless I should have, which I earnestly hope for, an opportunity of presenting it personally. That hope is grounded on reports of your intention to embark soon for America. Wishing you every happiness, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of taking

you by the hand, I am, my dear friend, with the most affectionate regard, in w^{ch} M^{rs} Bowdoin desires to join with me,

Yr. most ob^t hble. serv^t.

WILLIAM VASSALL TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SIR,—Being a sincere friend and wellwisher to Massachusetts State, notwithstanding the very unmerited and very cruel manner in which I have been treated, I read with great pleasure that your Excellency, so justly distinguished for political knowledge & liberal principles, was elected Governor & Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth.

I had the honour to be acquainted with your Excellency when I resided in Boston & conceived so high an opinion of your Excellency's benevolence, generous sentiments, and sacred regard for justice that I take the liberty to trouble your Excellency, with a plain and faithful narrative of my case. I want only common justice from the State, and I flatter myself that your Excellency will, as a friend to justice & the oppressed, cheerfully grant me your friendly advice and assistance in my laudable endeavours to recover my rightful property, firmly persuaded that it will give your Excellency the highest pleasure to assist the injured to obtain that to which they have the justest claim both in law and equity.

I was appointed a Mandamus Counsellor and refused the office, being an infringement of the constitution. As soon after the battle of Lexington as I could procure a

* William Vassall was born in the West Indies Nov. 23, 1715, graduated at Harvard College in 1733, and died at Battersea Rise, England, May 8, 1800. He was a prominent and active citizen while living in America, and the owner of a considerable quantity of real estate. He was for many years connected with King's Chapel, and even when living in England protested against the ordination of Rev. James Freeman. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xvii. pp. 115, 116; Sabine's American Loyalists, vol. ii. pp. 384, 385; Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, vol. ii. p. 46 note.—EDS.

vessel. I removed from Boston to Nantucket, and put myself under the protection of Massachusetts State. I remained at Nantucket till I found all communication was cut off from my estate in Jamaica, the sole property I depended on to maintain my family. Then, from necessity, I removed to Great Britain, & ever since my arrival I have lived on Clapham Common in a retired manner, absolutely unconcerned with public affairs. I have never done any one thing in the lowest degree unfriendly to Massachusetts or any one of the United States. I have not violated in any one instance any one of the laws of Massachusetts or any one of the United States. August 12, 1775, I embarked at Nantucket for Great Britain, at which time there was no law, either of Massachusetts or any one of the United States, that prohibited or made it unlawful for me to remove to Great Britain or any part of the globe, without the permission of the legislative or executive authority of some one of the United States. (They were Provinces & Colonies of Great Britain when I removed), therefore my removal was innocent & lawful, consequently no arbitrary, *ex post facto* law can in the nature of things make it a crime or unlawful. The Holy Scriptures, reason, & common sense dictate, that where there is no law, there can be no transgression, & where there is no transgression there can be no punishment; for punishment is nothing else but the effect or consequence of the transgression of a penal law. An innocent person may unhappily be imprisoned, transported, banished, flagellated, may have his property confiscated, and may be put to death, but neither of these would be punishment. They would be a cruel and wicked infliction of pain, misery, and death on an innocent person. This observation is agreeable to Delaware, North Carolina, and Maryland's Declaration of Rights, and in Massachusetts' Declaration of Rights drawn up by a committee of which your Ex-

cellency was president, and adopted by the whole State as part of the Constitution; my sentiment is expressly asserted, & declared in the following words in Article 24, viz., Laws made to punish for actions done before the existence of such laws, & which have not been declared to be crimes by any preceding laws, are unjust, oppressive, and incompatible with the fundamental principles of a free State.

Three years & two months after my removal from Nantucket, viz., in Octo., 1778, the Gen^l Court pass'd an Act wherein I am by name banished from Massachusetts State for my s^d innocent & lawful removal from s^d State. As to the assertion that I had joind the enemies thereof, and had aided & abetted them in their wicked designs against the United States, it is directly contrary to truth, for I no more joind, aided or abetted them than the man in the moon. In April, 1779, an Act was passd enacting that the estates of every member & inhabitant of Massachusetts or any other of the United States, who had removed from that or any other of the United States without the permission of the legislative or executive authority of some one of the United States since April 19, 1775, and had not returned to some one of the United States & been receivd as a subject thereof, shall be confiscated to the State (This Act was made near 4 years after my s^d innocent & lawful removal) and then declares, that whereas it is necessary that some mode of trial should be instituted whereby to determine whose estates are forfeited by force of said Act, & whereby those persons who are accused of offences in this Act described, may have their property defended in the best manner that their situation will admit of, it enacts, that the Attorney Gen^l shall exhibit to the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas where the estate lies, a complaint, setting forth the offence such person is charged with, &c., and the issue shall be tried by a jury

in the known and ordinary course of law, and if such jury shall return their verdict & find the same estate or any part thereof forfeited, the Court shall proceed to give judgment & shall issue a writ of habere facias possessionem in behalf of the government & people to cause them to be seized & possessed of the same. On the 19 of June, 1780, the Gen^l Court by a Resolve appointed J. Prescott, C. Davis, E. Wales, T. Dawes & S. Henshaw, Esq^{rs}, to be a Committee with full power to hire money for the State, & to make over to the lenders for security the estates of such absentees as they should think proper, & resolved that nothing contained therein should be construed to express the sense of government as to the forfeitures of the estates of said absentees.

The Gen^l Court appointed the Hon^{ble} Oliver Wendell, Esq., State Agent for my estate, who took possession of my house in Boston & of the household furniture, & ordered s^d furniture to be sold at auction, where it was sold for about half its value, & the money that arose from the sale thereof is now in his hands which, he says, he cannot deliver up to my attorney, D^r Lloyd, without an order from the Gen^l Court. By force of s^d Resolve of June 19, 1780, said Committee borrowed July 14, 1780, of P. N. Smith £50,000 Continental Currency and made over to him my house in Boston for security. The Gen^l Court by an Act of Novem. 10, 1784, enacted, that all the estates of the persons meant, intended, or described in the Confiscation Act of April, 1779, which had been mortgaged by order of government, shall be considered as having been confiscated, saving the right of redemption in the legal claimers upon their paying & discharging the mortgage according to the true intent & spirit of the same, which they are authorized to do in the same manner as the Commonwealth might, and if any action be brought the mortgagee may plead the general issue and give the Act in evidence.

No part of my estate, real or personal, has been confiscated by any special act made expressly for that purpose. No issue has been tried by a jury respecting me, consequently no jury have by their verdict found that I had offended in the manner described in s^d Act of April, 1779. No court has made up judgment against any part of my estate, as having been confiscated to the State, or ever has issued a writ of habere facias possessionem in behalf of the government & people to cause them to be seised and possessed of any part of my estate. All these particulars s^d Act of April, 1779, expressly declares shall be done and makes necessary to be done before any person can be convicted by force of s^d Act to have offended in manner therein described, & for which offence his estate shall be confiscated to the State, and before any court can make up judgment and issue a writ of facias habere possessionem to cause the government & people to be seised and possessed of any part of my estate. No part of my estate was confiscated by s^d Resolve of June 19, 1780, because s^d Resolve expressly declares that nothing therein contained shall be construed to express the sense of government respecting the forfeiture of the estates of absentees. For proof of all the above facts I appeal to all the Acts relating to confiscation made before Nov. 10, 1784, the Resolves of the Gen^l Court respecting the estates of absentees, and the Records of the Courts.

By the foregoing it is self evident, that no part of my estate, real or personal, had been confiscated before Nov. 10, 1784, either by a special Act made expressly for that purpose, or by the s^d Resolve of June 19, 1780, or by the verdict of a jury on s^d Act of April, 1779; that no court had made up judgment against any part of my estate, or had issued a writ of habere facias possessionem in behalf of the government & people to cause them to be seised and possessed of any part of my estate. Notwithstanding these truths, & that the 6 Article of the Definitive Treaty

solemnly ratified by Congress January 14, 1784, expressly stipulates, that there be no further confiscations made, and that no person shall, for or on account of the part he may have taken in the present war, suffer any future loss or damage in his person, liberty, or property, the Gen^l Court by an Act of Novem. 10, 1784, enacted that the estates of the persons meant, intended, or described in the Confiscation Act of April, 1779, which estates have been mortgaged by order of government, shall be considered as having been confiscated, saving the right of redemption in the legal claimers on paying & discharging the mortgage according to the true meaning & spirit of the same. Now the Confiscation Act of April, 1779, is a gen^l act and does not confiscate the estate of any particular absentee by name, but expressly enacts that in order to determine who had offended in manner therein described, & that the person accused of having so offended might have his property defended in the best manner his situation would admit of, that the issue should be tried by a jury in the known & ordinary course of law, and if such jury by their verdict should find the same estate or any part thereof forfeited, then the court should proceed to judgment & issue a writ of habere facias possessionem in behalf of the government & people, to cause them to be seised & possessed of the same, so that by this their own Act and law the person accused of having offended in manner therein described, & for which offence his estate is demanded as forfeited, has been tried by a jury, & such jury have by their verdict found that he had offended in manner described in s^d Act, & for such offence his estate or some part of it is forfeited to the State, and the court has made up judgment & issued a writ of habere facias possessionem in behalf of the government & people, to cause them to be seised & possessed of the same, s^d accused person stands innocent in law, & cannot be held or deemed to be one of the persons meant, in-

tended, or described in s^d Act of April, 1779, and the State, by this their own Act of April, 1779, has no more right to any part of his estate than the Grand Turk has : of consequence as no issue has been tried by any jury and no jury have by their verdict found that I had offended in the manner described in s^d Act of April, 1779, and that for such offence any part of my estate was confiscated to the State, and no court has made up judgment and issued a writ of habere facias possessionem in behalf of the government & people, to cause them to be seised and possessed of any part of my estate, I stand free and innocent in law, and cannot be held and deemed to be one of the persons meant, intended, or described in s^d Act of April, 1779, and no part of my estate has been confiscated by force of s^d Act. Now as no part of my estate had been confiscated before Novem. 10, 1784, the enacting by s^d Act of Novem. 10, 1784, that my estate which had been mortgaged by s^d Committee by order of government, that is, by force of s^d Resolve of June 19, 1780, shall be considered as having been confiscated, saving only the right of redemption upon paying & discharging the mortgage, is a glaring and most shameful violation of truth, & a new confiscation (*quoad* the amount of the mortgage) made by same Act in direct contravention of the 6 Article of the Definitive Treaty. I told these facts to his Excellency John Adams, Esq^r, and showed him s^d Act of Novem. 10, 1784. To which he replied that he was sorry for it. M^{rs} Hayley is now in possession of my house in Boston by force of s^d Committee's mortgage and asks a large sum for the redemption. I would make one observation ; viz., That if I should bring a writ of ejectment for possession of my house, M^{rs} Hayley, the mortgagee, is directed by s^d Act of Novem. 10, 1784, to plead the gen^l issue and to give the Act in evidence, and the jury on their oaths must find, and the court on their oaths must adjudge, that my house had

been confiscated *quoad* the amount of the mortgage, tho' they at the same time knew that it had never been confiscated *in toto*, or *in parte*, that is, the jury must find, and the court must adjudge, that a thing had been done which they knew never had been done, or they must pay no regard to s^d Act & look upon it as a mere nullity, an awkward dilemma.

I have been obliged to trouble your Excellency with a long detail of particulars to give a comprehensive and clear view of my case, by which I flatter myself that your Excellency will be convinced that I am greatly oppressed and ought to be relieved. Depending on your Excellency's benevolence, liberality of sentiment & sacred regard for justice, I take the liberty to request that your Excellency will be pleased to converse with my attorney D^r James Lloyd, & give him your friendly opinion, whether it is probable, or not, if I should exhibit a Memorial to the Gen^l Court respecting s^d mortgage praying for relief, that I should succeed, and if you should think it is probable, that your Excellency will be so kind as to advise him how to proceed. The money arising from the sale of my household furniture, amounting to about £600 lawful money, is now in the hands of Oliver Wendell, Esq. If your Excellency will advise D^r Lloyd how to proceed in his application to the Gen^l Court, and will be so kind as to support his application, I believe the Gen^l Court will order Oliver Wendell, Esq., to pay s^d money to D^r Lloyd, as it has never been appropriated by the Gen^l Court. Though what I am soliciting for I have undoubtedly a most just right & claim to, I apprehend I shall never obtain without the assistance & support of gentlemen of great weight and influence in the Gen^l Court.

D^r Lloyd has wrote to me respecting my Kennebeck lands, as your Excellency is a great proprietor in s^d lands, and knows the true state of the Company better than any other person, it will be doing me a great favour

if your Excellency will advise him as to the measures that will be most for my interest.

When any person feels himself aggrieved and greatly oppressed, it is natural for him to seek relief, and in order to succeed to solicit the assistance of those who from their rank & reputation can, and from their benevolence are disposed to befriend them; and it is probable, that when an innocent person has been oppressed by an act of a Republic, and solicits that same Republic for relief, he will not succeed, however righteous & just his cause may be, unless he is supported by gentlemen of the highest estimation in the state for their understanding and virtue. This being my real situation, I must entreat your Excellency to accept it as an apology, & hope it will induce your Excellency to excuse my freedom in troubling you with so tedious a detail of my private affairs. I am, with every sentiment of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t & hum serv^t.

WILLIAM VASSALL.

CLAPHAM COMMON, August 19, 1785.

I forgot in the foregoing to mention to your Excellency that the Commissioners for examining the claims of American Loyalists rigidly exact that every claimer for compensation shall give clear and full proof of his having taken an active & decided part in fav^r of Great Britain against the United States, and as I knew I had always been a sincere friend to them, therefore could not give any such proof, I have not exhibited a claim to government for compensation, and am the only one that I know of who has not, and I am precluded from receiving any compensation from the British Government for my losses, *solely* because I was a friend to the United States and would not act against them, and unless I am relieved by Massachusetts State I shall be a great sufferer, whereas those who took an active part against them will

be no sufferers, as they will receive a compensation from the British government for their losses.

SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

STOCKBRIDGE, 23 August, 1785.

SIR,— 'Tis now some time since I left the Indian country ; propose setting out again for Oneida to-morrow morning ; have had two of their chiefs with me for a week, on a friendly visit & to accompany me back to their country. The Indians are much engaged to attend to religious instructions. I preached to near 600 while I tarried with them. I baptized 16 infants. I engaged a catechist to be constantly with them during my absence. A more full account of the state of things among them I shall transmit to you hereafter.

The Governor with the Commissioners from the State of N. York made a large purchase of land from the Oneidas, the 25th or 26 of June last. They met with great difficulty in making the purchase. They met with two public absolute refusals from the Indians ; but they persevered & finally obtained their wishes. They purchased about 500,000 acres, & paid down to the amount of 11,500 dollars in goods & money. Their purchase is bounded as follows,—Beginning at the mouth of the *Onedella* (about 20 miles north of Onohoghwage), thence up s^d river 10 miles, then crossing the river on a due west line to the Ojinerigo, or Kaneghsawaghtayen branch of the Susquehannah, then down s^d stream to its confluence (or to the north line of Pennsylvania), thence due east to the Delaware, or line of property run in 1768, from thence northwardly on said line to the first mentioned bounds.

* For a notice of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, see 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. p. 469 note. The note is appended to an earlier letter from Mr. Kirkland with reference to his missionary labors. —EDS.

You will permit me to congratulate your Excellency on your being appointed to the first seat of government. Tho' perhaps the Common Wealth of Massachusetts may in this instance be commended for their wisdom, with more propriety, than merely in the honor done to your Excellency. I most sincerely wish you health & the blessing of Almighty God in your administration, and have the honor to subscribe, in truth & highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

SAM^L KIRKLAND.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO PATRICK HENRY.*

COM. WLTH. OF MASS., BOSTON, Oct. 18th, 1785.

SIR, — I have had the honour of receiving your Excellencies letter of the 25 of Aug^t last, and, agreeably to your request, will explain to you the object to which the Resolution of the General Court lately transmitted to your Ex^cy & referd to in your letter is pointed.

One of the States had passed an Act laying duties on foreign goods imported from any of the United States, while the same goods imported immediately from foreign countries were not chargeable with such duties. By the same Act duties were also laid on rum, loaf sugar, and several other articles which are manufactured in this Commonwealth. A preference thus given to foreigners to the prejudice of the United States, or either of them, appeared very extraordinary. This Commonwealth felt itself affected, both as a member of the Confederacy and as an individual State charged with duties on its own manufactures, whereby its citizens would probably be

* Printed from an original draught. Patrick Henry was Governor of Virginia at the time the letter was written; and in the first draught, which has numerous corrections, the letter was addressed to "His Excellency the Govr of Virginia." — Eds.

prevented from vending them to the citizens of a sister State. The measure appeared the more grievous, because the laws of this Commonwealth require no duties on the manufactures of any of the United States, and their citizens respectively are in point of commerce on a footing here with our own. The Act aforementioned gave rise to the Resolution. Your Excy. will perceive it must particularly apply to that State. Accordingly an expository letter was addressed to that State only. But as it must, in the opinion of every one, be a matter of the utmost importance to the United States that each of them should carefully avoid taking measures which might give just cause of offence to others & tend to the interruption of that harmony & mutual good will upon which the general safety & welfare depends, I took the liberty to inclose it to the several States; being fully perswaded that if any of them should think proper to revise their commercial laws, and should thereupon observe an instance of such a nature & tendency, it would be altered or repealed.

I flatter myself your Excy. will not think my motive improper. It will eventually afford me the happy occasion of laying before the General Court your letter, expressing in very obliging terms your own most sincere regard for this Commonwealth, and an assurance of the readiness of your Assembly to manifest the same friendly disposition towards us on all proper occasions. I may venture to assure your Excellency, that a similar disposition towards Virginia & every branch of the Confederacy prevails in the government & people of this Commonwealth.

As I understand your Assembly will meet the next month, I hope soon to be honored with another letter from your Excellency, acquainting me that the subject of mine of the 28th of July* has been considered by that

* See the letter to the Governor of Maryland, of the same date, *ante*, pp. 63-65. — EDS.

honourable body, & that the measures taken by our G. C. have met with their concurrence, or that such other measures as their wisdom may have dictated have been adopted by them, whereby the designs of the British court unreasonably to controul our trade may be counteracted & frustrated.

I am, with cordial esteem and respect, your Excellencies most obedient and very humble servant.

HIS EXCELLENCY PATRICK HENRY, Esq.

RICHARD PRICE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NEWINGTON-GREEN, Oct. 25th, 1785.

SIR, — I return you many thanks for your letter of the 12th of Augst last, and for the Memoirs with which it was accompany'd. It gives me much pleasure to find that the American Academy of Arts and Sciences is honoured by a President so attentive to the interest of science and so capable of promoting it. I shall be glad to see the volume of Memoirs which I suppose has before this time been printed and publish'd at Boston. May the American Academy flourish, and my hopes be verify'd of seeing the United States distinguish'd as seats of science, liberty, and virtue.

My sentim^{ts} of light are the same with those you defend in your first and second memoir; and your observations in answer to Dr Franklin's objections are, I think, decisive. Your ideas also of an orb surrounding visible nature, and of concentric orbs beyond it containing myriads of systems of worlds all so disposed as to cause the power of gravity itself to preserve them in their

* Apparently Bowdoin did not keep a copy of the letter to which this is the answer. For a notice of Rev. Richard Price and numerous letters to him, see 2 Proceedings, vol. xvii. pp. 262-378. — Eds.

original order, — these ideas open the imagination and lead to enlarged views of the grandeur of the universe. You propose them also with a diffidence and caution w^{ch} are the general characteristics of wisdom and which on such a subject are particularly proper. You will, therefore, I dare say, not be displeased with me for observing that M^r Herschel's late discoveries in the heavens have overthrown some of your arguments for the existence of such orbs. An account of these discoveries has been given in two of the last numbers of the Philosophical Transactions; and you may probably before this time have found in them that the appearance of the Milky Way is occasioned certainly by the blended light of a vast multitude of stars; that the heavens are full of Nebulæ; that many of these Nebulæ are resolvable into clusters of stars and others so distant as not to be so resolvable by M^r Herschel's largest magnifiers; that very probably our sun with the planets that move round it is one system in the Milky Way; and that the Milky Way itself with all the starry heavens discoverable by the naked eye form a cluster which appears a Nebula to distant Nebulæ. M^r Herschel has also, in some former volumes of the Philosophical Transactions, shewn contrary to an intimation of yours that the Solar System moves, and he has gone so far as even to point out the direction of its motion; and if our system moves it is most likely that other systems move. I must add, that it appears to me that since the light of the sun extinguishes the light of the moon and stars, it must have a much greater effect in extinguishing the light of an orb so distant as that w^{ch} you suppose, and that for this reason it seems impossible that the azure colour of the sky in a bright day should not be the light of the sun reflected by the air. Were this the light of an orb beyond the fixed stars, its white as well as its azure parts would appear in the day time; and they would appear fainter or brighter just as their light was more or

less obliterated by the light of the sun and also of the moon.

I beg leave further to observe, that the mean distance of Mr Herschel's planet being about 18 times the distance of the earth, the number of miles contained in this distance cannot exceed about 2000 millions. In p. 38 you have intimated that it is 5000 millions. I think I sent some time ago to Mr Willard an account of the elements of the orbit of this planet as they have been determined by some of the best European astronomers.

I return you my best thanks for your readiness to assist Mr Lewis, and tho' the offer you made of your kindness to him did not answer the end intended by it he is equally obliged to you. I am truly sorry for the disagreeable situation of affairs between this country and yours. I lament the policy we are likely to pursue, and dread its consequences. It may prove fatal to us, should we lose by it the trade and friendship of your increasing world and throw them entirely into the scale of France. The United States, however, will in my opinion profit by it, should it check among them the luxury, the inequality, selfishness, and avarice foster'd by trade, and teach them frugality, simplicity of manners, and the necessity of strengthening their federal union.

Permit me to congratulate you on your elevation to the station of Governor of your State. Nothing, next to the testimony of a good conscience, can be more agreeable than such a proof of the approbation of free and enlighten'd citizens. It is an honour much greater than being by descent King of Great Britain or France. I doubt not but the State of Massachusetts will profit much by your integrity and abilities.

Dr Franklin had left Europe at the time I received your letter to him; and therefore I have burnt it without opening it. Under a very grateful sense of your

Excellency's kind attention and with all the best wishes and great respect I am,

Your very obed^t and humble serv^t.

RICH:^d PRICE.

P. S. I am very happy in the acquaintance of M^r Adams, and wish he was more encouraged in his negotiations. This letter was written in October and kept in hopes of a direct conveyance to Boston, but not being able to find this I have sent it by way of New York. I hope M^r Temple is safely arrived.

JOHN WILMOT TO JOHN TEMPLE.*

BEDFORD ROW, 30 Oct, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I sincerely hope you have had a safe passage to America, tho' I fear some part of it was rather boisterous. You will receive with this a letter from our Board, requesting your assistance in enabling us to complete our set of Laws & publick Acts relative to the American Loyalists, & likewise in sending us any information that may come to your knowledge of any property being restored to the American Loyalists formerly of the Province of New York. We thought this circumstance, if it was so, must be of so publick & notorious a nature that you could not have much difficulty in procuring the information, or in communicating it to us, when it might be of so much importance to the enquiry we are engaged in. I should hope, as the information we wish

* John Wilmot, who in 1812 assumed by royal license the additional surname of Eardley, was the second son of the Lord Chief Justice of the same name, and was born in 1750. He entered Parliament in 1776, and served in it for many years, but seldom spoke. In 1783 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to inquire into the losses of the American Loyalists; and of this Commission he wrote an account which was published in the year of his death under the title of "Historical View of the Commission for Inquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists at the Close of the War between Great Britain and her Colonies in 1783; with an Account of the Compensation granted to them by Parliament in 1785 and 1788." He died June 23, 1815. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. lxii. p. 69. — Eds.

is confined to the Province of New York, that it will not occasion you much trouble or inconvenience; I fear the result of such an enquiry will be that very few if any of the Loyalists are restored to any part of their property, tho' some of the States are more lenient, others more strict, with regard to their return. How is the State of New York in this respect? I shou'd be much obliged to you for any information or communication you may honour me with on the subject of the American Loyalists or any other species of American politicks. I shall receive it in the most confidential manner, & only make such use of it as you may authorize me to do. I thought myself & so did Mr Marsh much obliged to you for introducing us to Mr Adams, & I shall take the first opportunity next month of paying my respects to him and acknowledging to him that obligation.

Since the conversation we had at your house, I have confidently acquainted some of the American Loyalists, that I was well assured they might procure certificates of the confiscation & sale of their estates & copies of records or other publick acts. As you are upon the spot however, & have probably had applications from some of the Loyalists for that purpose, I shou'd be much obliged to you for your further opinion on the subject. But as we undoubtedly shall have occasion for much minute enquiry into the cases of individuals and *in detail*, we had a clause inserted in the last Act to enable us to employ a person as an agent in the different States, & we propose soon after Christmas or early in the spring to send out such an one, with particular instructions, tho' we shou'd in the mean time be very much obliged to you for the assistance & information above mentioned, & I shou'd hope to hear from you before this person sets out, by whom I shall take the liberty of writing to you, & requesting your friendly advice and assistance to, as well as your publick protection & countenance.

As to publick news that has arisen since your departure, I presume you know it as fully & as accurately on your side the water as we do on our, baiting the time necessary to waft it over to you. The event of the Irish propositions has I think been favourable to the minister. The Parliament will not meet till after Christmas. The rise of the stocks is imputed chiefly to the peace between the Emperor & the Dutch, who continue to buy largely in our funds. I believe whatever change there may be in their affection, they continue to have a better opinion of their old allies than their new ones, who do not seem to have taken great care of their interest with the Emperor. The payment of a million of the navy debt has likewise contributed to the rise above mentioned. Money is certainly flowing very fast into this country, & Old England seems to be rearing her head again.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your very faithful & obedient servant.

JOHN WILMOT.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NEW YORK, 6th December, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,— I am out of the executive line of foederal politicks, but considering myself as an half-pay statesman, have a right to speculate in them on some occasions. What gives birth to the letter is, information from Massachusetts that the election of Mr. Hancock to the chair of Congress is considered there by the friends of the present administration of the Commonwealth as a measure opposed to the interest thereof. Whether this opinion is well founded or not, I will not undertake to

* For a notice of Elbridge Gerry, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 142 note.

determine, neither can I take upon myself any of the merit or demerit of the measure itself, but having some suspicion that those who are opposed to that administration would wish to create jealousies between it & the delegates of the State now in Congress, I think it but a friendly part to your Excellency to prevent if possible such consequences. Mr. King I am very intimately acquainted with, & his attachment to your Excellency, in your public & in your private capacity, the former of which he has grounded on your publick administration & the latter on your well known character, is not to be disputed; altho he is too independent & liberal in his sentiments to inlist in a party & adopt all their measures, proper or improper. Mr. Dane I am not so well acquainted with, but from conversing with him, have every reason to suppose that he is so well satisfied with the present arrangement as most seriously to wish a continuance thereof. I am very sure that you cannot misplace confidence in the former & that you cannot have anything to apprehend from the latter.

Being much in haste I have only time to inform you of the welfare of Mr. & Mrs. Temple, & with my best respects to your lady & Miss Temple, to assure your Excellency that on every occasion I am

Your sincere friend & most obed ser^t

E. GERRY.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO JOHN ADAMS.*

BOSTON, January 12th, 1786.

SIR, — I am honored by your Excellency's letter of the 2^d of Sept. by Mr Storer.

* This letter is printed from the original in the Adams Papers. Apparently Governor Bowdoin did not keep a copy of it. — Eds.

The Navigation Act of Massachusetts having been found to militate with the French treaty of commerce, & to exclude our fish from the Levant by excluding the subjects of the Italian & other states coming with their vessels for it, when our own in attempting to carry it to them would be intercepted by the Algerines, it was judged expedient to repeal it in part: so that it now operates in full force, only against the subjects of Great Britain & their property. A copy of the repealing Act will be sent to you, & also of an Act passed by the Legislature of Rhode Island at their last session.

I have transmitted copies of our repealing Act to the Executives of the several States, & warmly urged a similitude of measures, without which the United States cannot hope to bring about an alteration in the commercial system of Britain.

That system, in my idea of it, is clearly opposed to her own interest considered in all its parts, & in a complex view of it. It is very true, their encouragement of their whale fishery, by suffering the alien duty on oil to depress ours, will encrease their shipping in this branch, encrease their seamen, & in several other ways be advantageous to them. To a person who looks no further, it would appear that this was good policy, & the goodness of it would be inferred from the advantages arising. But when he should extend his view, & see how that stoppage of the American whale fishery, by depriving the Americans of so capital a mean of paying for the woolen goods they used to take of Britain, must at the same time occasion the American demand to cease or be proportionately diminished, not to mention the risk of a change or deviation of the trade from the old channels, he will calculate the national profit & loss that arises from that stoppage.

3000 tons of oil was the usual annual quantity produced by the whalers at Nantucket: all of which was

shipped to England at an average price of L 35 p. ton
making about L. 105.000. St.

The whole of which went to pay for &
purchase a like amount of woollens & other
British goods, nine tenths of the value of
which are computed to arise from the
labor of the manufacturer, & to be so
much clear gain to the nation: the other
tenth therefore being deducted gives the
national gain arising from the industry of
the Nantucket whalemén, & the Ameri-
can capital employed in that business,
viz. L 94,500

10,500.
94,500

without the nation's paying a shilling for the risk of in-
surance, or any other risk whatever.

On the change of trade, pursuant to the new regula-
tions, the British merchants must employ a large capital
in the whale fishery, whose products we will suppose,
equal to that of the Nantucket. L 105.000. St

They will have made an exceeding good voyage if the
whole of that sum should be equal to one half of the
cost of the outfits; though from many of the vessels not
meeting with fish, & from a variety of accidents, to
which such a voyage is subject, it probably would not
be a quarter. The whole of the product goes towards
payment of the outfits & charges of the voyage, & a
large sum must be advanced for the second voyage, &c.

Now altho' this mode of commerce would be produc-
tive of some national benefits, yet considered in a com-
parative view with the benefits resulting from the former
mode they would be found of little importance.

A like comparison may be made with other branches
of commerce; particularly the British West Indian, &
the result will be found the same. For the sake then of
gaining pence & farthings, Britain is sacrificing pounds

by her new regulations of trade. She has a right to see for her self: but unhappily resentment & the consequent prejudices have so much disordered her powers of vision, that it requires the skilful hand of a good political optician to remove the obstructing films. If she will not permit the application of your couching instruments, or if applied they can work no effect, the old lady must be left to her fate & abandoned as incurable.

But it is to be hoped, not so much on her account as our own, that they may be successful. One ground of hope is the private negotiation which Mr. Nath'l Barrett is gone to France to perfect & execute, relative to their taking our whale oil duty free, & in lieu of it giving at an agreed rate, according to their quality, such French manufactures as are best suited to our market: excepting a certain proportion of the oil, which must be paid for by bills of exchange to raise money for the men engaged in the voyage. About two months ago, Mr. Barrett sailed for France, with letters for Mr. Jefferson & the Marquis de la Fayette, & if he succeeds a great revolution in trade will probably be the consequence; & France, on the principle of reciprocal benefit, exclude Britain from all trade with America. This appears to me so probable, that if you could impress the British ministry with the same idea, you would find little difficulty to bring about a commercial treaty with them, perfectly agreeable to your own mind & to the wishes of the United States. An interchange of a few letters on this subject with Mr. Jefferson would give you the present state of the negotiation.

With the most perfect regard, I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your Excellency's most obed^t hble serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

WILLIAM GORDON TO JOHN TEMPLE.*

JAMAICA PLAIN, Feb^y 1, 1786.

DEAR SIR,— Though late in congratulating you & your lady upon your safe arrival, yet I rejoiced when I heard of & was convinced of your appointment; & made immediate use of what our friend M^r Adams wrote concerning you, upon receiving it, that I might lay an anchor to the windward against the blasts of ill nature & prejudice; & therewith disputed against gainsayers in your behalf with a degree of success. M^r Adams wrote June the 26th, 85, “I presume M^r Bowdoin is your Governor, & that all things go on smoothly. M^r Temple is here & behaves in a manner very friendly to America. If he goes out, as he proposes to do in August, he will do no injury to America, but on the contrary I believe more service than we can expect from any other British Consul.” The day I received the letter, I forwarded the extract to a Massachusetts delegate at Congress, who I believed was friendly to you; that he might therewith make favorable impressions, & I communicated it to numbers at Boston of the Council, Senate, & House & others, weeks before I let the Governor see it, that so it might not be said that the family put me upon it. My agent at New York has, I understand, agreeable to my wishes, sent you one of my proposals, & I hope for your patronage. I am now getting a little in readiness for removing with my family to Great Britain & expect to quit America by the latter end of April or beginning of May. I doubt not of your readiness to serve me in a particular case, if within your power; & therefore mention it. I mean to take back a part of my library, in which there will not be a dozen bound books but what I brought over with me, or had sent from thence. I shall have also

* For a notice of Rev. William Gordon, D.D., author of the *History of the American Revolution*, see 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 151 note. — Eds.

some furniture, but all of English manufacture. The United States being now foreign dominions, these articles will by a strict interpretation of the law be subject to duties, & some very heavy; but I should imagine a representation & letters from you to the Commissioners of the Customs, specifying that they all came from England, are not meant for sale, but private use, belong to a Briton returning to his native country with the design of finishing his days there as a peaceable *subject*, would procure me a license for landing them free from duty, upon proper assurance given that the package contains no smuggled article whatever, neither tea, coffee, chocolate, &c. Shall be glad to know whether you can assist me in this business consistently with your public character, & without giving umbrage to your friends by attempting to serve me. Should you not be able to serve me, still if you have any letters which you would wish to entrust me with to be delivered with my own hands, I shall attend to it, the same as if you could help me. I was very anxious for your arrival & being recognized by Congress ere a certain person could be seated in the chair, lest the public should suffer damage, by measures adopted for the purpose of gratifying private malice. Mrs Gordon unites in regards to self, Lady & children. I have the happiness now & then of seeing & conversing with your amiable daughter. I remain, dear Sir,

Your Honour's most obedient, humble servant.

WILLIAM GORDON.

WILLIAM GORDON TO JOHN TEMPLE.

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 15, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — Your obliging letter of 14th Feb^y, received last Sabbath evening, has convinced me that I judged right in numbering you among my real friends.

The spirit of the Americans in continuing to abuse Britain, &c., tho' peace has been established, has reconciled me greatly to the thought of leaving the continent where I should have had no quiet in case of a future rupture, unless I would have gone with them in all their extravagances. Their malevolence has charged the British with bringing the Algerines upon them, & I have at times said, where it could be said with safety, that if the plague was to break out among them they would be ready to impute it to the king's being in league with the prince of the power of the air. You have had your turn; & now it is mine to be abused in the public papers. Some suspect whether the little man upon the hill has not his hands in this dirty business. He may justly dread an impartial, independent historian. Should you visit Boston, & he know the time of your coming, he may get well enough to visit New York & occupy a place which deserves a person of more abilities & true dignity. You will ask, how do you bear the drubbing? Like an old countryman that possesses *mens conscia recti*. Would you think it, & yet so it is, Mr Mumford, who rides post from Boston through Providence & Newport to New London, told me, that it was objected I was friendly to you, & therefore nothing could be expected from me favourable to America, upon which I shewed him Mr Adams's letter that he might assure the objectors that you was friendly to America. Am obliged to you for subscribing, & hope you will have pleasure in reading. Shall get some of my friends to republish in the London papers the scurrilous paragraphs that have been printed at Boston, that so the British may be animated to subscribe. Wont that be a good scheme to take in the green horns of America, who see not the operations of their own malice for frustrating their very intentions? Will take care to present your regards as requested.

I rejoice in the prosperity of my native country. As I

find you can quote scripture upon occasion, I will let you see that I am like wise, but shall leave the application & interpretation to yourself. *No man having drank old wine, straightway desireth new ; for he saith the old is better.*

I guarded some against the epidemic frenzy of trusting the Americans ; who I hope have profited by the hint & escaped.

I come now to my own particular business. I have followed & mean to follow your advice in general. I mentioned *furniture* ; but all I mean to take is an old Indian Japan dressing-glass, formerly belonging to M^{rs} Gordon's aunt, & for which she has a relative fondness, & our best bed furniture, which has never been put up in America, nor even taken out of the case in which it came over, & only examined to see that it was not damaged. Chairs, tables, clock, &c., &c., we shall sell. A number of my books I have disposed of ; the choicest & which I cannot replace easily, or that would fetch but a trifle here considering how little they are in demand, I shall take back. The freight of all I carry with me will fall short, I apprehend, of ten guineas. There will be about eight boxes & cases. Most of them what I brought over, & have put by & used for keeping corn in, &c. I take back the capital landscape upon iron which hung in the parlour, done at Birmingham. Half a dozen Mezzotinto's framed & glassed ; & three pictures of butterflies are also packed up. The two beds with the blankets which will be wanted for selves & the maid, a chest of linen, a box with clothes, & two or three small boxes with papers, sermons, &c., there will be no occasion, I apprehend, to put into the manifest. You may assure your correspondent that I will make no attempt to smuggle any articles, nor admit of any attempt of that kind under my sanction. And now suffer me, dear Sir, to entreat your interest with M^r Stiles, that the above articles may be admitted to a landing without being subject to duties, as they were formerly British, &

are not meant for sale, but my own private use. Be pleased to mention in your letter to me, whether there are any perquisites belonging to the Secretary's office, & what they are, if you know, that so I may give custom to whom custom is due.

I expect to sail in three weeks at farthest, & must be ready before. Pray you therefore to enclose your letter to M^r Stiles in one from yourself, & send by the post for safety the first opportunity, that it may not be too late. The expence of postage I shall consider as trifling compared with a disappointment of not receiving them in time. M^{rs} G—— joins in best regards to your Lady, self & family, some children I suppose you have with you.

Dear Sir, your sincere friend & very humble servant.

WILLIAM GORDON.

The Gov^r & family I believe are well. They are well.

Pray present the profile shade to your Lady. Wish she may find a likeness in it. Obtained it yesterday; but it must be kept a profound secret, as the delicacy of the original may be otherwise hurt.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, March 24, 1786.

SIR, — I do myself the honour of inclosing a few extracts of letters written in 1783 to M^r Livingstone, which it is to be presumed were laid before Congress; but I have not heard that the plan suggested in them of purchasing raw sugars in France, Spain and Portugal, to be refined in Boston, New York and Philadelphia for exportation to Russia, Germany & Italy, has been ever attempted, untill this winter by M^r Thomas Boylston. Upon the arrival of a cargo of oil in the Thames he resolved instead of paying the alien duty, to embark on board of the vessell and carry it abroad. He arrived in Ostend, unloaded the

ship, seperated the sperma cæti from the oil, and went with both to Havre de Grace and thence to Rouen. He had letters from me to Rouen & to Paris, particularly to Mr Jefferson, the Marquis de la Fayette & Messrs Le Couteule. With some difficulty they got the duties somewhat reduced, and with his sagacity, activity, and perseverance, he got the better of those devices which are too frequent in trade in that country, sold his oil for a good price, bought a quantity of raw sugars which cost him six or seven hundred guineas more than the proceeds of his oil, and sent the head-matter and sugars to Boston. No other man at his age would have undertaken so much fatigue, risque & vexation: and I much question whether delays and charges and leakage considered, his profits have been very great; but a beginning is made and an example sett. If we can make remittances to Russia in this manner, it will be a resource. It well deserves the consideration of the State of Massachusetts, whether any encouragement can be given by bounties or drawbacks of duties upon sugars thus imported from Europe. A market in this way may surely be found for all your oil. Mr Boylston has certainly rendered a considerable service to his native country, by applying his capital, his talents, and industry in this manner.

With great respect I have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN,
Governor of Massachusetts.

JOHN LATHROP TO JOHN TEMPLE.*

Boston, 28 March, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — When his Excellency informed me he had in his house a diploma for me from the University of

* Rev. John Lathrop, D.D., was born in Norwich, Conn., May 17. 1740, graduated at Princeton College in 1763, and in 1768 was settled over the Old North Church in Boston.

Edinburgh and at the same time acquainted me with the channel in which the honor was conferred, I felt the obligations which I owe to you, Sir, for so valuable and undeserved a favor. And when Mr Bowdoin was obliging enough to present me the diploma, I took the liberty to desire he would be so kind as to make my grateful acknowledgments in the first letter he might have occasion to write you. We flattered ourselves that it would not be long before we should have the happiness of seeing you in Boston, when my good friend Dr Howard and myself intended to pay our respects to you in person. But I cannot feel satisfied with myself to suffer any more time to pass away without begging you to accept my sincere thanks for so distinguishing a mark of your friendship.

When I was honored with your acquaintance and learned the history of your past fortunes, it was my ardent wish you might be rewarded for your sufferings in the cause of your country in particular, and the liberties of mankind in general.

The first letter I recieved from that great and good man Dr Price, after your arival in England was expressive of his affection and of his fears; he was afraid the feelings of the ministry at that time were not so favorable to your views as he could wish: time however produced alterations. While I hope the emoluments of your present appointment may be in some measure answerable to what you had a right to expect, it is my sincere wish that by your mediation a lasting and most friendly intercourse may be established between the two countries. As a clergyman I took an early part on the side of America, but now the war is over I desire as far as possible to forget

During the siege his meeting-house was torn down, and he went into exile. After his return to the town he became a colleague and afterward sole minister of the united congregations of the Old North and the New Brick. He received the degree of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1785. He died in Boston Jan. 4, 1816. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. p. 625; Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, pp. 125-130. — Eds

past sufferings, and sincerely wish the two countries may be united in affection as they certainly may be in interest.

As to our system of government, you find much wanting to render it perfect. If the States do not vest Congress with more power it will be impossible to support the confederacy: some other form of government must and will take place. But I hope they are learning wisdom, and will exert themselves in season to prevent their ruin. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is recovering under the wise and prudent administration of Governor Bowdoin; but several years more will be necessary to break up many pernicious habits, and teach the people universally the necessity of submitting to such laws and regulations as are absolutely necessary to their honor and happiness.

By Dr Williams & Mr Eliot I have lately receivd fresh expressions of your friendship, for which you will please to accept my thanks. Hope you will be able to visit Boston in the approaching season; and you will allow me to say, none of your friends can more sincerely rejoice in your happiness than, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

JOHN LATHROP.

HONORABLE JOHN TEMPLE, Esqr.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

LONDON, May 9, 1786.

SIR, — Your Excellencie's letter of the 12 of January I have had the honour to receive, and am much obliged to you for the information in it.

Your opinion of the policy of the country will be found in the result of things to be just, and your reasoning in support of it is so conclusive and at the same time so obvious, that it is astonishing it has not its effect upon the Cabinet. Every consideration has been repeatedly

urged to no effect. Seamen, the navy, and power to strike an awfull blow to their ennemies at sea on the first breaking out of a war, are the ideas that prevail over all others. Mr Jenkinson, an old friend of the British Empire, is still at his labours. He is about establishing a bounty upon fifteen ships to the southward and upon two to double Cape Horn for sperma cæti whales. Americans are to take an oath that they mean to settle in England before they are entitled to the bounty. I have long since informed Congress, that nothing is to be expected from this country but poverty, weakness, and ruin. If after all our people will carry on a ruinous trade, it is their own concern. But no man can do them a greater injury than by holding up to their view a hope that we shall receive any relief by taking off the duty on oil, or by admission to the West India Islands. They will infallibly be deceived if they entertain any such expectations.

I have been circumstancially informed from time to time and step by step from Mr Jefferson, the Marquis de la Fayette, and Mr Barrett of all the negotiations for exchanging our oyl for the produce, manufactures, and sugars of France. The great revolution in trade which you mention ought to be promoted by every friend of America, and it must take place. I have made use of all these considerations. But if an angel from heaven should declare to this nation that our States will unite, retaliate, prohibit, or trade with France, they would not believe it. There is not one man in the nation who pretends to believe it, and if he did he would be treated with scorn. Let me intreat you, Sir, and every other citizen of the United States, to extinguish all hopes of relief to their trade from this country.

Peace with the Turks, comprehending under this term Constantinople, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Morocco, is essential to our navigation and commerce and political consideration in Europe. Two or three hundred thou-

sand guineas and nothing less will obtain it. It will be miserable policy and oeconomy to loose two or three millions in trade, insurance, &c., and still worse to add two or three millions more in fitting out a navy to fight them, in order to save that sum in customary presents. We are now limited to a sum that will be worse than thrown away.

Intrigues of individuals are said to be on foot to sett South America free from Spain, and not improbably the pulse may be felt in the United States. But I hope the States will not only be prudent themselves, but oblige individuals to be so too. Portugal & Spain are bound by a Treaty of 1778 to support each other in such a case, and all the world will be in flames. We had better avoid the fury of them.

Three great objects agitate the Cabinets of Europe in secret. The passage of the Dardanells and navigation of the Danube I consider as one; a free commerce with all the East Indies is a second; and the independence of South America is the third. They will all be pursued untill they are obtained, as I fully believe. But as all know the contest will be sharp, extensive, and long, all are afraid to begin. This is all confidential, between you and me and a few of our discreet friends.

God bless our country, but I still tremble for its safety.

With great respect, I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN,
Governor of Massachusetts.

NATHAN DANE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NEW YORK, June 10th, 1786.

SIR, — I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency for your private information, at the request of

* Nathan Dane, the eminent jurist, was born in Ipswich Dec. 27, 1752, graduated at Harvard College in 1778, and died in Beverly Feb. 15, 1835. After graduating he studied

Mr Temple copies of the demand made by Mr Adams of the Western posts and Lord Carmarthen's answer, which copies Mr Temple yesterday handed to me.

On this occasion permit me to observe, Sir, that a few weeks since, Congress received dispatches from Mr Adams, our minister at the Court of London, inclosing copies of his demand of those posts and the answer of Lord Carmarthen, with a statement of supposed grievances similar to those mentioned in the inclosed papers.

All the matters to which these papers refer are under the consideration of Congress, and in a train of examination. The injunctions of secrecy relative to them being taken of, the several delegations would probably before this time have communicated to their respective States copies of those dispatches touching the posts, but on attention to this subject and said statement of supposed grievances, it appears proper previously to ascertain several facts relative to it. Some doubts arise how far several of the laws mentioned in that statement ever had in fact the effect of laws, what constructions the courts of justice have put on those laws which passed in due form the several branches of the legislatures, and how far other laws of the States and various important considerations are to be attended to, in order to determine with propriety how far the grievances stated by the British merchants are well founded.

But Congress cannot come to any determinations on these subjects 'till there shall be a fuller representation of the States, and on this occasion also, Sir, give me leave to express the anxiety I feel arising from the present feeble administration of the federal government owing prin-

law, and soon became one of the most distinguished lawyers in New England. From 1782 to 1785 he was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and from the latter year to 1788 he was a member of the Continental Congress. There he rendered important services, especially as the author of the Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio. In later years he gave to Harvard College the funds on which the Dane Professorship of Law was founded. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii. p. 72. — Eds.

cipally to the want of attendance of the delegates from several of the States. It must give peculiar concern to any one who feels for the honor and welfare of this Confederacy to observe our interesting negotiations with foreign powers and important affairs at home impeded and delayed for many months together by this inattention; and at a time when so many good & well informed men in the Union are disposed to cement the social compact; and with this anxiety I cannot but express my ardent wishes that the attention of the several States may be turned to the adoption of means for keeping up a full and punctual representation in Congress, and to the adoption of those regulations that shall make it a duty in the delegates to attend not to be dispensed with, so far as it shall be necessary to keep each State represented. But these regulations I leave to the wisdom of the States to make, and only beg leave to add, that it is with the most sincere satisfaction I see the executive powers of the government of which I have the honor to be a member again lodged in your hands.

With much esteem and respect, I am your Excellency's most obed^t hum^{ble} ser^t.

N. DANE.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

SAMUEL OSGOOD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NEW YORK, June 17th, 1786.

PERMIT me to congratulate your Excellency upon your again being appointed the first magistrate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Altho I am at a distance from the State, my attachment will rather encrease than diminish; & whatever tends to promote her happiness will at all times affect me with the most sensible pleasure. The circumstance which affords me an opportunity

at this time to offer you my congratulations, can give no one more pleasure than it does me.

I have lately been favoured with your Address to the two Houses, in which your Excellency has discovered a great attention to the interests of the Commonwealth; and I am very happy to find that you continue to possess ideas of the necessity of strengthening the foederal government, — that you express them with equal freedom & firmness. I believe every man who is attentive to our national concerns must conclude that the crisis has arrived, & that unless some new arrangement is made for Congress they may as well disperse as continue together.

You observe in your Address, “that the former part of this recommendation has been complied with by the Legislature of this State; with this deviation, however, that instead of empowering Congress, they have by an act of their own laid the recommended duties.” I believe what you mention as a deviation is not considered as such here.

The recommendation of the 18th of April, 1783, has these words “To invest the United States in Congress assembled with a power to levy for the use of the United States, the following duties,” &c. The State by their act have laid the duties, & have empowered Congress to levy them. The import & duties being exactly the same as recommended by Congress, I do not apprehend the deviation mentioned by your Excellency (if it is such) can be injurious.

It is farther observed “Subject to this proviso, conformably to the recommendation, that the act shall not operate until all the United States have passed acts for imposing the like duties.” I beg leave to observe that this proviso in the act of Massachusetts was not strictly conformable to the recommendation of Congress. The difference is this, the duties were not to take place previous to the supplementary funds; but the Act of Massa-

chusetts permits the collection of duties notwithstanding the States may not have granted the supplementary funds, which amount by the Estimate of April 18th, 1783, to 1,500,000 dollars. The proviso in the recommendation of the 18th April, is "That none of the preceding resolutions shall take effect until all of them shall be acceded to by every State."

You mention that a warrant had issued on the Treasurer to pay to the Loan Officer the balance against the State in old emission, & that the Treasurer had paid it.

Perhaps some of the States may object to this payment & blame the Board of Treasury for permitting it. Mr Appleton, previous to receiving it, wrote for our instruction in this matter. I then observed to Mr Livingston, that to avoid an idea of partiality, I wished him to consider the question maturely for himself, & that whatever his judgement might be, I should, without I could give a good reason against it, conform thereto; he agreed to instruct Mr Appleton to receive it. And I am at present clear in the opinion that our instruction was right; tho' some of the Delegates of our State have conversed with me upon the subject since they saw your message, & seem to differ from me in opinion.

Your observations on the balance due from the State in new emission, if I have a write [right] understanding of the matter, do not perfectly agree with the fact.

You will observe by the book forwarded to your Excellency that the United States four tenths of the new emission in the State of Massachusetts amounted to 598,000 dollars

The United States have drawn out

of Mr Appleton's hands . 530,802.4

Remaining in Mr Appleton's
hands subject to the orders

of the United States . . 67,197.86

598,000.

The aforesaid balance being subject to the orders of the United States, & the State of Massachusetts having no controul over it, the Board of Treasury may put it in circulation when they please, & the State would have to redeem it because it is issued on her funds. Whilst the new emission continues at three or four for one, we think it not right, to put it into circulation; because the State has already a credit for it, with the United States equal to specie. The balance which you have reference to, I apprehend not to be against the State; for that balance has been in the hands of the Loan Officer for several years; & the United States have not seen fit to make use of it. Whatever new emission the State may have paid to the United States; whatever may have been destroyed or burnt by the State; yet the balance in Mr Appleton's hands will remain the same. That the State of Massachusetts has a credit with the United States for the $67,197\frac{8}{9}\frac{8}{9}$ dollars in Mr Appleton's hands I apprehend to be indisputable. The only disputable point will be, whether the State provided such funds for its redemption as to keep up its credit & to entitle her to an equal specie credit.

If your Excellency in the aforesaid observations had reference to the requisitions of Congress for new emission, on which the State of Massachusetts (with all the other States) appears to have paid nothing, then what I have said above will not be applicable. If I am mistaken in any thing I have said above, I flatter myself your Excellency will pardon me; if I am not, I shall be abundantly satisfied with having communicated my sentiments on your excellent Address.

I am, with great respect, your Excellency's most obed^t serv^t

SAMUEL OSGOOD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ^r.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO NATHANIEL GORHAM.*

BOSTON, June 24th, 1786.HIS EXC^t NATH^l GORHAM, ESQ^t,
President of Congress.

SIR, — I had the honour of your Excellency's letters of the 18th of May & 17th of June. Of the first, on y^e subject of a mint and a consequent coinage proposed to be established by Congress, I availed myself in a message to the General Court, which was accompanied with the report of a Com^{tee} of Council upon that head.

That report originated from a Resolve of the Court at y^e preceeding session for referring to y^e consideration of y^e Gov^r & Council two memorials, wherein the memorialists prayed for liberty, on certain conditions to be performed by them, to coin copper money of several denominations. It was found by the Com^{tee} that y^e government could make a clear profit of 50 ¢ c^t by establishing a mint of their own for that purpose; and they were of opinion that if it should be judged eligible to have a coinage of copper it should be undertaken on the government account. The message & report have been referred to a Com^{tee}, but as they know by a paragraph of your letter quoted in the message, that Congress have the report of the Treasury Board on this subject under consideration, and that many inconveniencies would result from y^e States acting in this matter seperately, I presume they will postpone the thoughts of a coinage until they know the determination of Congress concerning it.

I am sorry to find by your letter of the 17th and by the account of taxes paid into the Continental Treasury from Nov^r, 1784, to March, 1786, that Massachusetts does not hold that rank in her payments which she formerly did.

* Nathaniel Gorham was born in Charlestown May 27, 1738, and died there June 11, 1796. He took an active part in public affairs from an early period down to the formation of the Federal Constitution, and was for a short time President of the Continental Congress. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. ii. p. 688. — Eds.

Some of the Court however satisfy themselves with the idea that if all the payments of y^e States, as well those before as since Nov^r, 1784, are taken collectively, Massachusetts will still hold her rank; and they suppose that when all accounts shall be settled a large balance will appear to be due to her.

These ideas have had their influence in the House of Representatives in procuring from time to time a postponement of the grant of the supplementary aid, which has been the principal subject of debate for the greater part of the last ten days. In considering it some people wish to make a distinction between the debt due to foreigners and the debt due to individuals the inhabitants of the United States; and ground the distinction on reasons that do not discover any great delicacy of sentiment in point of morality. What will be the issue of the debate is very uncertain.

I am of opinion with you that unless the States are more attentive to the requisitions of Congress and do exert themselves to pay the arrearage-taxes, concerning which as relative to this State I have several times messaged the General Court, the federal government must cease and the union with it. To prevent such a catastrophe would it not be proper to apply to Gov^r Clinton, & urge him to convene the Assembly of New York for the purpose of altering their impost act so as to make it admissible by Congress? Such an application, and the inadmissibility of that Act in its present form, would justify him in taking such a measure. When convened, a delegation from Congress would probably convince them of the necessity of their making such an alteration. A like delegation to each of the other deficient States seems also necessary: without which it is next to certain, you will not be able to get the revenue system completed.

My respectful regards to your brethren, the Massa-

chusetts delegates, to whose acceptable letters I shall reply when I am a little more at leisure. In the mean time permit me to congratulate you on your appointment to the presidial chair of Congress; and to assure your Excellency that I am, with great esteem,

S^r, yr. most obed^t hble. serv^t.

WILLIAM VASSALL TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

CLAPHAM COMMON, July 26, 1786.

SIR,—I am honoured with your Excellency's obliging answer of the 24 of April to my letter of the 19 of August last, and am happy that your Excellency thinks I have given a fair state of my case and have reasoned justly upon it.

Your Excellency has been so kind as to hint to me that it has been said in the Gen^l Court, that the absentees withdrawing from their country in the time of the common distress, they withdrew their *personal* aid wholly, and their pecuniary aid as far as they could, therefore the estates they left behind ought not only to furnish an equivalent for both, but a considerable sum for the anxiety and distress the non-absentees experienced and risk they ran of forfeiture of estate and life had Britain succeeded. Further that that anxiety, distress, & risk were brought upon them by the machinations of the absentees in concurrence with the British ministry and that this last would justly absorb their whole estate were it ever so large.

I will reply to this reasoning as far as it respects me personally: viz., I am a native of Jamaica, where $\frac{4}{5}$ of all my estate lies, was never concerned in any business, nor ever got one farthing in any one of the United States, but lived intirely on the income of my estate in Jamaica, and spent £50,000 sterling in the United States, every

farthing of which I received from my Jamaica estate. I lived in the United States from choice, because I was pleased with the people & government. This demonstrates my friendly disposition to the United States. If I had removed to Jamaica, my native place, I should have removed to a place as much under the acknowledged authority of the King of Great Britain as any part of the British dominions. I removed from necessity, not from choice, to Great Britain, that I might have a communication with my estate in Jamaica on which I depended to maintain my family. I never bore arms in my life, it being contrary to my religious principles. I never gave, subscribed, or promised one farthing towards raising soldiers, or towards any hostile attempt against any one of the United States. I have never received, solicited, or been promised one farthing or the least favor from the British government. I shall not receive the lowest compensation from the British government for my losses in America, *solely* & for no other reason but because I was a sincere friend to the United States, and would not take part with Great Britain against them. I never aided or abetted the King's fleet or army: so far from it, that as soon as hostilities began I left the protection of the King's fleet and army at Boston and went to Nantucket (where I had the honor of conversing with your Excellency), and put myself under the protection of Massachusetts State. As to my withdrawing my *personal* aid wholly in the time of the common distress, I answer, First, It is against my religious principles to bear arms. Secondly, that if my religious principles would have allowed me to bear arms I could not have rendered any *personal* aid on acco^t of my age and bodily infirmities, being upwards of 60 years and on acco^t of indisposition utterly incapable of bearing any fatigues or hardships. Further, it is manifest that the good people of Massachusetts State did not want my advice

or counsel on public affairs, as they never elected me to any office in the State, except the high & honourable office of a constable for the town of Boston. As to my withdrawing my pecuniary aid as far as I could, I answer, that I left behind me all the estate I had in Massachusetts, all which was purchased with money which I received from my Jamaica estate, and the State has had the possession and benefit of the whole of my estate in Massachusetts for eleven years past. This clearly demonstrates that I have abundantly afforded my pecuniary aid to the State. The foregoing clearly proves that however forcibly the reasoning of the Gen^l Assembly may operate against other absentees, it cannot be applied to or operate against me.

Your Excellency thinks that as my case essentially differs from that of many others I have ground to expect a favourable consideration of it, and having this idea of it, should I think proper to apply to the General Court, your Excellency has been so obliging as to assure me that you will with great pleasure give any advice or assistance in your power to my attorney in conducting the application, for which I return your Excellency my sincere thanks.

Presuming on your Excellency's benevolence I have wrote to Dr Lloyd, and desired him to consult with your Excellency about exhibiting a petition to the Gen^l Court praying that Oliver Wendell, Esq., may be directed to pay to me or my attorney the money he has of mine in his hands, arising from the sale of my household furniture, amounting to about £600 lawful money, and request the favor of your Excellency to advise him how to proceed in conducting the application, and to assist him in it. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obed^t and much obliged hum^o serv^t.

WILLIAM VASSALL.

THEOPHILUS PARSONS TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY —

Inclosed are the observations wished for last even^g. When I finished them I had no expectation of seeing the Judges this morn^g, but I have since shewn them the inclosed, and they are pleased not to disapprove of them.

I will do myself the honour of accept^s your Excellency's polite invitation of dining with you to-day.

I am, with great respect, your Exc^{ys} most obed^t & humble serv^t

THEOP. PARSONS.

COURT HOUSE, Sat^v Morn^g.

Indorsed by Governor Bowdoin : "Mr. Parsons' opinion concerning y^e Conduct of a Sheriff in regard to Riots. Augst, 1786."

POWERS OF A SHERIFF.

Some Brief Observations on the Authority of the Sheriff to raise the Power of the County.

The Sheriff may raise the *Posse* to enable him to execute any warrant duly issued by lawful authority ; or to suppress any riot, rout, or *unlawful assembly* in his view without warrant ; and in some other cases not now necessary to mention.

A *riot* is when three or more persons unlawfully assemble together to commit *with force* an unlawful act, or a lawful act in a *forcible manner*, and do in fact engage in the commission of such act.

A *rout* is when three or more persons unlawfully assemble together to commit with force an unlawful

* Theophilus Parsons, the eminent jurist and Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, was born in Byfield Feb. 24, 1750, and died in Boston Oct. 30, 1813. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. p. 664; Memoir of Theophilus Parsons by his Son. — Eds.

act or a lawful act in a forcible manner, and make some movements towards the commission of the act, but do not in fact engage in it.

An *unlawful assembly* is when three or more persons assemble together to commit with force an unlawful act or a lawful act in a forcible manner, but make no movements towards the commission of the act. These definitions will be found sufficiently accurate for my present purpose, tho' perhaps not expressed with such technical precision as to include all offences of this kind.

The Sheriff may clearly in either of these cases collect the power of the county to disperse the persons above described, and to apprehend and commit them until he can convey them to some magistrate for examination; and he may use all the force necessary to answer these purposes.

A question may arise, when may the Sheriff safely determine that a collection of people in his view is an unlawful assembly, for when they are guilty of a *rout* or *riot* there can be no doubt, as their conduct at the time will exhibit the most striking evidence. In considering this question I shall confine myself to a collection of people formed for the purpose of obstructing the Courts of Justice in the execution of their office.

If a number of people were to collect together peaceably to petition the Justices not to open the Court or to adjourn it, without any intention or intimation of violence in case the petition was rejected and without intending to intimidate the Justices either by their number or arms, perhaps it may be doubtful whether it would be an unlawful assembly within the foregoing definition; but such a case as this probably never has happened nor ever will happen. But if the people threaten the Justices to induce them to comply with the petition, or come armed with muskets, swords, clubs, or weapons of offence to terrify the Justices into a submission, I think there can

be no doubt but that it is such an unlawful assembly as will justify the Sheriff in using the power of the county to disperse it and to apprehend the persons who compose it. If they fill the Court-House, or the avenues to it, so that the Justices cannot enter, having met for the purpose of preventing the sitting of the Court, this is more than an unlawful assembly, it is a rout, as they have made some movements towards the commission of the unlawful act for which they were assembled. If they refuse to move out of the way when required by the Sheriff & oppose him with force, it is then clearly a riot.

Prudence will direct the Sheriff in either of these cases, first to use peaceable methods & command the collection of people to desist from their purposes and to disperse. But if these methods should prove insufficient, his duty will then direct him to use the necessary force to obtain this end, and if it cannot be obtained without firing upon the people engaged thus unlawfully, he may safely fire upon them, and the law will justify him and all those who obey his orders. If the militia are assembled & the Sheriff is obliged to use force he may require their assistance & they are bound to obey him. But then perhaps they are not to be considered as soldiers, but as citizens under the command of the Sheriff and not of their militia officers. However if the Sheriff directs their officers to order the militia to fire, and they accordingly fire, I conceive the militia will be justified in firing, nay that it is their duty to fire as much as if they had received those orders personally from the Sheriff, their officers being in such case only servants to the Sheriff. But firing on the rioters should be avoided till it is found that no less degree of force will disperse them.

But suppose the people unlawfully assemble to obstruct the sitting of the Court, but neither previously require the Justices to omit their duty nor fill the Court-House nor the passages to it, but remain quiet intending to move

when the Justices are proceeding to the Court-House, what is prudent for a Sheriff to do in this case?

As it may in some cases be difficult to prove the unlawful intent with which people assemble when they make no motion towards their unlawful design, perhaps the most prudent way for the Sheriff will be to provide himself with a sufficient force to protect the Court in the execution of their office, and if he cannot persuade the people to disperse, to wait till they make some movements towards their unlawful design, and then if gentler methods will not do to repel them with force.

These few observations are thrown together in great haste and I have no time to consult a book upon the subject, I therefore intreat that they may be submitted to the opinion of some gentlemen of the law, or of the Judges, before they are made the ground of any measures whatever.

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON.*

To the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in reply to their Address, voted in public Town Meeting assembled at Fanueil Hall on Monday, the 11th of September, 1786.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, — The Address with which you have honoured me affords me great satisfaction; as you thereby not only bear testimony against the illegal measures taken within several counties of this Commonwealth to prevent the due execution of the laws, but give the strongest assurances of your unvaried determination to co-operate in support of constitutional government.

The best constitution of government is but of little value if the people to whom it belongs will not support it when infringed; especially when the infringement is

* The Address to which this is the answer is printed in Boston Rec. Com. Reports, vol. xxxi. pp. 125, 126. — Eds.

of so capital a nature as to endanger or render precarious the due administration of justice whose sacred rights have in the instances referred to been so flagrantly violated.

If the Courts of Justice are not permitted to sit, or sitting are interrupted in their proceedings, the great end of government, the security of life, liberty, and property, must be frustrated, and government so far laid prostrate. If such be the case in any of the counties of the Commonwealth where the good people have in a constitutional way been called upon by government to assist the sheriffs in the execution of their official duty, as relative to the sitting of the judicial Courts and have withheld their assistance, does it not behove such to consider the evil tendency of such supineness and inattention? and whether it does not expose their persons and property to the violent and fraudulent attempts of wicked and designing men, who being freed from all restraint of law will be encouraged to make such attempts, and thus destroy the most essential benefits expected to be derived from our excellent constitution? and who but themselves will they have to blame for such unhappy consequences?

The true causes of the difficulties that have arisen will probably be enquired into by the General Court at their approaching session, when it is hoped they will apply adequate and suitable means for removing them: in doing which it is my duty and will be my happiness to contribute to the utmost of my power.

As the worthy inhabitants of the Town of Boston have been distinguished for their zeal and patriotism on past occasions, and particularly so when with a remarkable unanimity they adopted the present constitution of government, so it gives me the highest satisfaction to observe in them the like zeal and patriotism in full vigour operating for its preservation & defence.

WILLIAM GORDON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

STOKE NEWINGTON, Sept^r 28, 1786.

MY GOOD SIR, — I congratulate you most sincerely upon your late passage & procession over Charles River ; & am glad that the glorious day happened in the time of your being governour.* Your continuance in the chair is what I expected ; but whether your abilities, seconded by the sensible exertions of others, have not ruined your influence, must be determined by the next election. Depend upon it, if the country members can lead their electors, they will make you suffer for having jockeyed them out of their fall wages & winter perquisites, by completing the business of the last session so effectually as to adjourn the Court till next Jan^y. Was ever such a thing heard of, since S^r F. Bernard revenged himself upon them before he left the country by proroguing them to Jan^y 10th ? If you & your supporters practise such kind of patriotism as distinguished the last session, you & they must fall, or the State will rise & the blood suckers who wish to stick to it like ticks be reduced to the dire necessity of learning to be useful members of society. However you have my blessing, as good as the arch-bishop's of Canterbury. Go on & profit under the smiles of the great Governour of the universe. Your bridge I hope will in time turn into stone by the help of masons, of free-masons ; for salt water will not produce petrification. But what say you to an iron bridge ? I have sent you the plan of one for your amusement. Great minds which have been conversant with great subjects are not given to wonder at every strange operation of art or nature. And now before I forget it (I shall think of myself by & by) let me mention that I have a nephew by M^{rs} Gordon's side named

* The bridge between Boston and Charlestown was opened with great ceremony by Governor Bowdoin Sept. 17, 1786. — Eds.

Field,* one of the best names upon the *face of the earth*, who finishes his apprenticeship the next month, after having faithfully & steadily served the noted Mess^{rs} Nairne & Blunt, opticians, mathematical instrument makers, &c., &c., &c. He has made himself master of every branch. I can with safety to my own character recommend him as a good hand, such as has given his masters great satisfaction. He will set up for himself. Your Excellency's encouragement & interest among your friends will be owned as a great favour conferred upon me.

I proceed to answer some questions which I apprehend you are ready to ask. I shall not be able to publish so soon as I intended; but shall make as much haste as good speed. Several on this side the water have the protection of the law against libels; & as they will be likely to suffer by the truth, I must give it in that artful guarded way that even the fangs of law cannot fasten upon me, or they may hoist me into the pillory which is a post I am not fond of occupying, besides plundering me of all the profits I wish to gain from the History. In respect to culprits in the western world, I can safely say any thing do I keep to the truth, & relate it not as one who enjoys the follies & vices of others, but as an impartial faithful historian. We are at present with my brother Field & shall probably remain with him till Christmas, unless some settlement should offer before. Have no immediate prospect of any, but an exercising reliance upon the divine wisdom & goodness. It would be a blunder in me to touch upon British politics when you have a correspondence with M^r John Adams. You have so much upon your hands that I can scarce expect an answer; but if you can find no leisure to write employ our common friend D^r Waterhouse as deputy in the present case. M^{rs} Gordon joins in presenting best regards

* Mrs. Gordon was a daughter of John Field, a London apothecary of considerable reputation. See 2 Proceedings, vol. xvii. p. 302 note. — Eds.

to your Excellency, your lady, son & daughter, granddaughter & son. Pray remember me to brother Thacher, & tell him that if he means I should correspond with him, he must tell me so in *many* words. I remain, with great respect,

Your Excellency's sincere friend & very humble servant.

WILLIAM GORDON.

SAMUEL DEXTER TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

Mr DEXTER presents his dutiful compliments to his Excellency the Governour, and, while he sincerely pities him under his increased public burthens, thanks him most heartily for the high satisfaction which the worthy and judicious part of the Commonwealth must derive from his late speech. They will entertain the pleasing thought that, if the two Houses should observe the same propriety of conduct, as great a degree of energy may be restored to government as can consist with a constitution which, though excellently calculated for good Christians and philosophers, is by far too democratical for the ignorant and unprincipled multitude. But however disappointed good men may perhaps be in their expectations of the most salutary effects from the supreme magistrate's exertions, for want of the assistance which nevertheless they hope will be afforded him; yet that firmness of spirit and true dignity of sentiment which he has discovered, must add, if possible, to the great respectability of character he before possessed in Europe as well as America; nor can it prove otherwise, although this should unhappily for the people be the last year of his administration. Mr D. has been confined almost wholly by great pain for more than three months past, or he would have done himself the honour of waiting upon his Excellency on the first breaking out of the

rebellious spirit, and run the risque of being thought impertinent while he obtruded his opinion respecting the most probable means of subduing it. He never entertained an idea that coaxing could answer any good purpose. He knows too well the temper of these degenerate sons of worthy ancestors to suppose they can be reclaimed by soft and lenient methods. Giving way in any degree will be dangerous. All *reasoning* too would be lost upon them except the *ultima ratio regum*. But while Mr D. ventures to write thus freely, because confidentially, he has not the vanity to imagine he can offer any thing in aid of the wisdom of his Excellency, which will be diligently employed in devising and recommending to the legislative body the best adapted measures for restoring tranquility, good order, and due submission to the laws.

While Mr D. is sure no appointments to offices of a civil nature will be made but of men of the best political principles, he laments that the choice of military officers is by the constitution with the people. In some instances may it not be said with the mob? Were it otherwise the prospect would be much more agreeable.

This, which was intended for a short billet, is grown into an address. The Governour will condescend to accept the good intention; and though he should deem it presumption from a man now in private life, his urbanity will prevent that censure which it may be thought to deserve.

ROXBURY, Octo^r 3^d, 1786.

INSURGENTS IN THE COUNTY OF HAMPSHIRE.

AN estimate of the Number of Rebels that would march under the direction of Shays in the County of Hampshire, should the contest be in said county, and the towns where they belong, viz.

Charlemont	30	N ^o brot on	655
Heath	15	Granby	15
Row	10	Belcherton	35
Buckland	20	Pelham	50
Barnardston	10	Amherst	50
Lyden	15	New Salem	35
Greenfield	15	Leveret	30
Conway	25	Montague	40
Ashfield	20	Shutesbury	30
Goshen	20	Orange & Warwick	30
Chesterfield	35		<u>970</u>
Worthington	20		
Williamsburgh	25	Should the contest be	
Wheatly	25	carry'd to Worcester, the	
Norwich	10	numbers would deminish	
Chester	15	more than one third.	
Middlefield	15	The County of Berkshire	
Blanford	15	would probably furnish Shays	
Colrain	25	in Hampshire, with 5 or 600	
Westfield	35	men, but their numbers	
Southwick	35	would lessen on a march to	
West Springfield	60	Worcester nearly one half.	
Montgomery	25		
Long Meadow	20		
Wilbraham	20		
Palmer	20		
Ludlow	15		
Ware	20		
Greenwich	40		
	<u>655</u>		

Indorsed by Governor Bowdoin: "Maj Shepard's Estimate of the N^o of Insurgents in Hampshire, Dec. 14, 1786."

ARTEMAS WARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SHREWSBURY, Decem^r 16, 1786.

SIR,—Your Excellency's letter of the fourteenth instant came duly to hand; in answer thereto can only say, the whole force of the insurgence in the three upper counties that will assemble at Worcester, I estimate at fifteen hundred; and in my opinion the most likely way to prevent the shedding of blood is to have a desided superiority on the part of government: the conflict will be shorter and less severe in that way than any other. It will be requisit to have from the lower counties a force double to the insurgence: that will serve as a stimulus to the militia in this county to turn out in support of government: this plan will convince the insurgents that they are not the people, as they affect to call themselves. I make no doubt the militia will be content to continue in service until the matter is settled in the county of Worcester, if tolerably supplied. The militia law makes provision for their supply in such cases. The better way in my opinion would be to contract with some person or persons to supply them, which might easily be done, was not public credit so very low. Could any person be supplied with cash in the last mentioned way the resources of the three western counties would be sufficient to support the forces on the part of government for months. Your Excellency wishes to be informed how many militia may be depended upon in

* Artemas Ward was born in Shrewsbury, Mass., Nov. 27, 1727, graduated at Harvard College in 1748, and died in his native town Oct. 27, 1800. He entered public life at an early age, and began his military career as a major in 1755. In October, 1774, he was appointed a brigadier general by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and in the following May he was made commander in chief of the military forces around Boston. In June, 1775, he was named by Congress first in the list of major generals, but he was obliged in a few months to resign on account of impaired health. He continued, however, to take as active a part in public affairs as his health would permit, and for upward of three years he was a member of Congress under the Constitution. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. pp. 347, 348; A. H. Ward's *Ward Family*, pp. 45-49. — Eds.

the three western counties, that is impossible for me at this time to determine: had the address to the people got to the several towns it would have satisfied many; but it hath not come to minister or selectmen of this town. The warrant you was pleased to inclose to me is still in my hands, not thinking it best at present to deliver it to the person to whom it is directed without your order for so doing.

I am, with great respect & esteem,

Your Excellency's obedient, humble servant.

ARTEMAS WARD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

WILLIAM SHEPARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

WESTFIELD, 17th Decem^r, 1786.

SIR,—I am now to acknowledge the honor of your Excellency's letter of the fourteenth instant by Maj^r Shephard just come to hand. I am aware of the policy of some persons to let the insurgents proceed, presuming that they will undeceive themselves or precipitate with their own rashness, or that they might be reclaimed with moderate and lenient measures, and in support of such an hypothesis advance that in government as much judgment is necessary to know when to recede as in merchants when to loose, which hypothesis, altho I do not fully admit, I shall not wholly reject. But I would beg leave to suggest that it appears unseasonable and ill timed to either procrastinate or introduce lenient measures untill the government have given proofs of their force and ability, otherwise clemency appears to proceed from inability or pusillanimity, and comes with an ill grace.

It now appears absolutely expedient to enforce the laws since neither the rashness of the insurgents or the

* For a notice of General Shepard, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 5 note. — Eds.

mitigating steps of Assembly have been productive of the tranquillity that many expected.

To begin with supporting the Worcester Court, as your Excellency mentions, it will be necessary to save the risk of blood that two thousand should march from the lower counties, I should suppose, under the command of General Lincoln, whose high reputation would avail greatly in such an expedition.

From this county and Berkshire I can march one thousand; what number can be raised in Worcester County I am uncertain, but should suppose one thousand, which constitutes in all four thousand which under the command of General Lincoln would be amply sufficient to restore order and peace in a very short time. Respecting supplies I believe provisions can easily be furnished from this county, but spirits and some other articles must be sent from Boston; however, it appears that the bussiness would not require a very long time.

I shall take early opportunity to transmitt your Excellency further information and more particular plans if coercion takes place, which should it be the case a system for supplying the whole ought previously to be concerted, tho I can furnish provisions for the troops of my division if it is best.

I have mentioned Berkshire above, altho it may not be worth while for them to march, as I can raise one thousand in this county willing to tarry one or perhaps two months in case they should be wanted; however your Excellency will have the opinions of the Generals Lincoln, Brooks, and Cobb capable of better plan than I can be at present, especially at this distance and so little time to weigh the affair.

I am y^r Excellency's most obed^t hum. servant.

W^m SHEPARD, Maj^r Gen^l.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN.

ELEAZAR PORTER TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SPRINGFIELD, Dec^r 26th 1786.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

The Justices of the Courts of General Sessions of the Peace and the Court of Common Pleas which by a late Resolve of the General Court were directed to be holden at this time & place met for the purpose of discharging the duties of their respective offices; before the Justices had arrived a number of men armed with firelocks took possession of the ground near the Court House with an avowed design to prevent the Courts entering the House. As soon as a number of Justices had convened sufficient to constitute a Court, a committee from the insurgents (who were more than three hundred in number) waited on the Court & requested (with intimations of disagreeable consequences on failure of a speedy compliance) that the Justices would not open the said Court, they presented a paper signed by themselves to the Justices, of which the following is a copy, "Springfield, Decem^r 25th, 1786. We Request the Honble. Judges of this Court not to open said Court at this Term, nor do any kind of business whatever, but all kind of business to remain as tho no such Court had been appointed. Luke Day. Daniel Shays. Thomas Grover."

As no measures had been taken to collect a force for the support of the said Courts, and guards were placed at the door of the room in which the Justices had assembled, the Justices thought not only prudence but necessity required an answer of compliance, of which the following is a copy, "Springfield, Decem^r 26th, 1786. The Justices of the Court of Common Pleas & the Court of General Sessions of the Peace now assembled at

* Hon. Eleazar Porter was born in Hadley June 27, 1728; graduated from Yale College in 1748, and died in his native town May 27, 1797. In 1777 he was made a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and in 1779 Judge of Probate. Both of these offices he held until his death. His second wife was a daughter of Jonathan Edwards. See Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, vol. II. pp. 178, 179. — EDS.

Springfield, in consideration of the opposition made to the opening the said Courts, have determined not to do any business or open the said Court at this Term. Eleaz^r Porter, on behalf of s^d Courts."

No injuries or insults were offered to individuals, and the people are dispersing.

I have the honour to be on behalf of the Justices assembled as above,

Your Excellency's most obedient & humble servant.

ELEAZ^r PORTER.

SAMUEL LYMAN TO SAMUEL BRECK.*

SPRINGFIELD, Dec^r 27th, A. D. 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your letter of the 19th instant, but did not receive it from the Post Office seasonably enough to have answerd it by the then next post, agreeable to your desire; but have now the mortification to inform you that the Court of Common Pleas & General Sessions of the Peace which convened here yesterday, according to adjournment, were not permitted by the insurgents so much as to open and adjourn, or to do any kind of business; and they obliged the Court to come to an agreement with them of such a nature in writing. The number of insurgents under arms were about three hundred, and more appeared to be constantly flocking in from all quarters; Shays & Luke Day & one Grover of Montague headed this party of mad men. This expedition of theirs was conducted with as much secrecy & precaution as if it was an enterprize of the

* Samuel Lyman was born in Goshen, Conn., Jan. 25, 1749, and graduated at Yale College in 1770. He first studied divinity, but with no expectation of entering the ministry, and afterward studied law, and began its practice at Hartford. About 1782 he removed to Springfield, Mass., and served in both branches of the State Legislature. He was a member of Congress from 1795 to 1801. He died in Springfield June 5, 1802. (See Dexter's Yale Biographies, vol. iii. p. 388.) Samuel Breck was a merchant in Boston, — born April 11, 1747, died May 7, 1809, — and father of a more famous son of the same name, who removed to Philadelphia, and was Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. (See Recollections of Samuel Breck, p. 17.) — Eds.

greatest magnitude and importance, — not more than one hour before these insurgece arrived in town, the Sheriff told me that he had not the least apprehension that the Court would be interrupted by them (althô he knew a number of them were then under arms in West Springfield) and so there were no steps taken in order to support the Court; neither did they request any support when they saw the necessity of it; but from prudential motives or some other motives dispensed with that substantial aid which might have been afforded them, & complied with the illegal & unjust demands of a pack of villains. However, I can't say but that it may be all for the best; possibly if we had attempted to have supported the Court, we might eventually have been obliged to call upon our friends who live in the interior parts of the Commonwealth, which would have laid the government party under great disadvantages, and the insurgents would have had every advantage arising from its being a central situation, so far as it respects the parts of this State where the disaffected inhabitants dwell.

We are in a deplorable condition, but I don't despair, for I think upon the whole our prospect really begins to brighten, for the leaders of the insurgents appear dejected and melancholy since their fruitless expedition to the eastward. They are under fearful apprehensions of being taken & lodged with their friends, Shattuck, Parker & Page. It is of great importance that government exerts itself immediately, I think their leaders can be taken better now than ever. I am sure there is a spirit of energy in government, it has appeared in the capture of three of these rebels, and I hope it will appear in the capture of three or four more of them, at least of *Shays*.

My dear Friend, not only this Commonwealth but the UNION at large are in the most confused and confounded condition; we do not yet feel that sameness or unity of interest which is the only cement of any nation,

and which is absolutely necessary to be felt in order to make us respectable & important; but this is not surprising, for our national existence is but of yesterday, and this unity of interest is the result of time, it is the effect of habit, sentiment, & opinion, it is the unison of each of these; but although there is such a vast variety of habits, sentiments, & opinions which characterize these States, yet I hope that that kind & beneficent Spirit that brooded over the surface of the great deep (the antient Chaos) will also inspire our political chaos, generally called the United States, with form & beauty & strength & greatness.

I will leave off preaching, for I have been tedious and long enough; but I must add a piece of information this minute received, which is this, that there would have been no opposition to the setting of the Court had it not been for Shays, as they had pretty universally concluded it was best to stay at home, and make no further opposition to government until Saturday of last week, when they received orders from Shays to meet him in this town on Tuesday morning then next. Shays certainly ought to have an opportunity of seeing his friend Shattuck.

I hope the insurgents will never know what I have written to you, for they might possibly kill me if they did.

I am, dear Sir, your most obed^t & very h^{ble} ser^t.

SAMUEL LYMAN.

DEAR SIR, — If you think any part of the information contained in this letter ought to be inserted in the public prints, I wish you would not make extracts from it, but only to publish the substance of it in manner you would have done, if you had received the information by word of mouth.

S. LYMAN.

SAMUEL BRECK Esq^r.

LEVI SHEPHARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NORTHAMPTON, 28th Dec^r, 1786.

SIR, — Your Excellency will pardon me from troubling you when I attempt to give you a relation of the proceedings of the insurgents since my last.

Nothing material in respect to their movements has took place 'till last Monday, at which time they got in motion in many towns in every part of the county for the purpose of breaking up the Court that was to set on Tuesday; but their numbers was not so great as they had been on the like occasion from any town, the reason however was obvious, as government tho't it not expedient to call out the militia at this time for its support, and it was tho't that Shays would only order Captⁿ Day to collect his men in & about Springfield to do the necessary work, and leave the rest of the insurgents at their homes. But it seems Shays would not risque the matter with Day, for fear (I presume) of being out generaled by government and ordered his men to march from more distant parts, so that upon the whole Shays collected about 300 men on Tuesday morning at Springfield, and demanded of the Court not to proceed to do any kind of business, which was accordingly granted. They now exult on their return and plume themselves that government is now yielding to their demands so fast that Shays informed his men when he dismissed them that he was in hopes that he should not find it necessary to call them out any more on the like occasion.

It is manifest that Shays is very thoughtfull, and appears like a man crouded with embarrassments, but the other leaders are very insolent & imperious, but I trust the day is not very remote that they will discover a

* Levi Shephard, commonly called Dr. Shephard, was an apothecary in Northampton, and took a very prominent and active part in public affairs. He died in 1805. See Trumbull's History of Northampton, vol. ii. *passim*. — EDS.

different deportment, however we can't expect in this county any thing but insolence from such fellows, so long as there is so little dignity & propriety of conduct maintained by some of the first officers of the Court of Common Pleas, for the fact is not less surprising than true than that Grover & Day was permitted to set at the table & dine with some of the above Court at the time they made the demand of them not to proceed to do any business.

Should there be any despatches your Excellency wou'd wish to forward to this county thro' this town, M^r Sam^l Eliot (who will hand you this) will be able to forward them by the bearer of this, who is a faithfull person.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obed^t & most humb^l serv^t.

LEVI SHEPHARD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ^r.

Dec^r 30th.

Your Excellency will receive this by Maj^r Lyman (who is aid to Gen^l Shephard) who I did not know of his going to Boston when I began to write. I beg leave to refer your Excellency to him, as he is able to give you every satisfaction in respect to the public concerns of this county.

I am, &c.

L. S.

WILLIAM SHEPARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NORTHAMPTON, 30th Decem^r, 1786.

SIR, — I have ever conceived the General Assembly at their last session did every thing they possibly could, and even made some sacrifices in expectation of quieting all who should not be obstinate to conviction, and that they had taken measures not to recede from in any extremity.

How far I am justified in these conceptions your Excellency will best determine, but since the palliating scheme has failed to produce those effects that were promised, it appears to me of the first importance to know whether any farther concessions from government are expected or not.

I beg leave to suggest whether if the Worcester Court is to be supported, the Assembly ought not previously to meet, if not to give more energy to our operations, at least to remove all occasion of scruple in the most nice.

As I have mentioned in my letter of the 14th inst. by the stage, I imagine two thousand men with two companies of artillery and one hundred light horse to march first to Worcester from the lower counties, after part or all into this, and so on to Berkshire, will be amply sufficient to crush all opposition.

If such a plan should be adopted they need not march from the lower counties untill after the insurgents have embodied, after which and at the same time the force of this county to march and form a junction or otherwise as incidents shall determine. We can furnish the provisions for the troops of this county, but the camp equipage and some spirits will be wanted from Boston, each of which if any should not be used might be returned. I should presume the command will be given to General Lincoln, whose high reputation will avail much in this part of the State. Being now on my return from a tour through the whole county I am much encouraged, as I find that the Address with other circumstances have fixed the wavering in many instances, particularly in the town of Northfield which voted unanimously satisfied with the doings of the General Court. However nothing will restore order and peace to these counties but superior forces, which I hope will be introduced as soon as is possible.

This will be delivered you by M^r Lyman, one of my aids, who will be capable of such particular information

as you shall wish, and will receive such communications for me as you shall judge necessary.

I am your Excellency's most obed^t hum. serv^t.

W^m SHEPARD, Maj Gen^l 4th Division.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ^r.

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR SUPPORTING THE SUPREME COURT TO BE HOLDEN AT CAMBRIDGE.*

1. Orders to be given to Gen^l Brooks to assemble several of the regiments of Middlesex agreeable to the arrangement he has made. He supposes he can depend on 1800 men from those regiments.

2. Orders to Col^o Hall of Dorchester for detachments for companies from his regiment, viz: the 2 comp^s of militia & 1 comp^y of artillery in Dorchester. 1 company in Milton.

3. Orders to Col^o Battelle for companies in his regiment: Capt. W^m's C^o, Capt. Draper's C^o of militia, & Maj^r Spooner's C^o of artillery, besides a voluntier C^o under Lt Col^o Patten: all of Roxbury.

4. Orders to Maj^r General Titcomb at Newbury Port to issue orders to Col^o of Ipswich; and to Col^o of Salem to hold their regiments in readiness to march to Cambridge upon the call of Major Gen^l Brooks for the support of the Supreme Judicial Court.

5. Capt. Bell of the ancient Artill^y C^o

6. Col^o Bradford's Cadet C^o

7. Selectmen of Boston to endeavour to procure officers for the Boston regiment.

8. Maj^r Davis, &c., to form volunteer companies to hold themselves in readiness.

9. Major Perkins to furnish ammunition for the militia: to be distributed as Gen^l Brooks shall direct. Quere.

* Printed from the original minutes in the handwriting of Governor Bowdoin. — Eps.

If y^e musketballs be connected wth y^e cartridges, most of them will be useless on acc^o of the diff^t bores of y^e small arms.

10. The Commissary Gen^l to furnish needful provisions.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO WILLIAM SHEPARD.

BOSTON, Jan^y 21, 1787.

SIR, — I have received your favour of the 19^t instant. I am glad to hear you have taken possession of the Arsenal, and that you have so respectable force with you. As to their supplies of beef, bread, rum, foreage, and fuel I must refer you to General Lincoln, who will or has fully informed you of the measures taken for your supply of these articles. You have been misinformed with respect to the money that has been furnished to the Commissary General and the Quartermaster General. I gave my orders to those officers to supply the militia called out upon this occasion with provision and other articles necessary for their subsistence and accomodation; but they represented to me that they had not the articles necessary for this purpose by them, neither had they the money to purchase them. The friends of government in this and the neighbouring towns hearing of this difficulty offered their aid to government and generously subscribed that they would either furnish the articles wanted or money for the purpose (but to be appropriated *solely* for the subsistence and accomodation of the militia while in the field) in full confidence that they should be speedily reimbursed by the General Court, but had it not in idea that any part of the money should be appropriated to pay the militia; neither has government advanced one shilling to the militia, but must depend upon the General Court for their pay who have assured the supreme executive that compensation shall be made

to such officers and men as should turn out upon such occasions ; and in case of necessity I am perswaded that the gentlemen of fortune and ability in your parts will as readily lend their aid to government upon this occasion, and furnish the articles needed, confiding in government for a speedy reimbursment as the gentlemen here have done. As to the arsenal at Springfield it is expected that you defend it at all hazards ; the particular measures for that important purpose must be left with you as exigencies require. You have herewith enclosed an extract of the resolve above referred to.

MAJOR GENERAL SHEPPARD.

RICHARD PRICE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NEWINGTON-GREEN, Jan^y 22, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — You will receive with this a volume of Sermons which I have just publish'd in compliance with the request of the congregation to which I preach. Should you honour it with a perusal you will probably think me wrong on some points, but I can rely on your candour. I have deliver'd my confession of faith with freedom ; but at the same time I have endeavoured to do it with charity and respect for all my fellow Christians of different sentim^{ts}. The chief object of my zeal is, not making proselytes, but promoting liberality and virtue and fair and amicable discussion.

It is with particular concern, I have heard lately of the tumults in your State and in New Hampshire ; of the vile measures employ'd in Rhode-island to give a currency to the paper issued there, and of many other events in the United States which damp the hopes of their friends and make their enemies triumph. It is not possible they should prosper till they have learnt more to seek true independence by despising foreign luxuries

and finding all they want within themselves; and till also they can see the necessity of giving more energy to their federal governm^t.

All hope of a commercial treaty with this country seems now to be over. One consideration which I know influences greatly our ministers in this instance is, that a treaty can answer no end because there is no power in the United States that can enforce the observance of it. But I ask pardon for these remarks. Perhaps it is the purpose of Providence to make your country pass thro the school of errors and sufferings in order to make it at last, with more advantage, such an example and benefit to mankind as the friends of liberty and virtue wish to see it. Great indeed is the trust committed to it.

Under a grateful sense of your kind attention, and with great respect I am, S^r,

Your obliged and very obed^t serv^t.

RICH^d PRICE.

I have sent you by the desire of our Astronomer Royal his advertisem^t of the comet expected next year.

JONATHAN WARNER TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

WORCESTER, Jan^y 26th, 1787.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOV^R BOWDOIN.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, — Early on the twenty-fifth instant Major General Lincoln moved from this place for Springfield, with all the troops which were here, except the regiment under the command of Col^o Stearns and one company of artillery; at the

* Jonathan Warner was born in Hardwick July 14, 1744, entered the army on the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and served with credit, being made a brigadier general by Massachusetts in 1776 and a major general in 1781. The latter office he held until his voluntary resignation in December, 1789. He also took an active part in civil affairs, and was a member of the State Senate for nine years and of the Council for two years. He died, Jan. 7, 1803, at Craftsbury, Vt., to which place he had gone on business. See Paige's History of Hardwick, pp. 524, 525. — Eds.

same time he gave orders to me, to direct the same regiment & company to take under escort the provisions ordered for Springfield, and to proceed to that place with all possible dispatch; the Major General Lincoln further directed me to call for one thousand men from my division in addition to what had already been called for & raised. In pursuance of these orders Col^o Stearns yesterday in the afternoon moved on with all the troops which were then in this place, except a captain's guard. Orders likewise were immediately issued to detach the above mentioned number of men, with directions for them to rendezvous at this place, armed & accoutred according to law, as soon as possible; and further, being left without any troops here except the guard aforesaid & sensible that some time must necessarily elapse before the same order of detachment could be carried into effect, I sent letters to a number of influential characters, friends to government, in the several towns in this county to use their influence to raise as many volunteers as could be spared from home, to be under my immediate command 'till the aforesaid order of detachment could be complied with, unless sooner discharged.

I would beg leave to suggest to your Excellency that I conceive it improbable that the number of men required from my division can be properly armed and accoutred in this county, considering that upwards of a thousand men are already turned out in the support of government, and that many arms are in the hands of insurgents & persons ill-affected towards the present government. Your Excellency will therefore take into consideration the propriety of sending on a number of arms for the men, in case more should be raised than can be well equipt without the assistance of government.

I have likewise called upon the select-men in the several towns to turn out of their town-stocks respectively

a proper supply of ammunition for the men that shall be raised as aforesaid ; but as there are great divisions among select-men, as well as the inhabitants of towns, I conceive that mode of supply to be too precarious to rely upon ; your Excellency will judge of the expediency of forwarding supplies of that kind likewise.

I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's ob^t hum^l ser^t

JON^A WARNER, M. G.

P. S. 2 o'clock, P. M. Information is this moment received by a gentleman who went from this place yesterday with General Lincoln, that a detachment from the insurgents under the command of Shays, consisting of about sixty men, advanced within General Shepard's lines yesterday, contrary to his express directions, that they refused to retire and were fired upon, and that four men were killed and a number more wounded, whereupon the remainder of that detachment of insurgents retreated ; but I have no official information respecting this matter or the present situation of the insurgents.

JOHN BROOKS TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SIR,—I moved to this place yesterday, when I was joined by a part of my division. I am now about to march for Worcester & expect to be joined by two more of my regiments.

Upon my arrival in this town yesterday I found one Samuel Valentine of Hopkinton, who had come hither with a paper purporting to be the doings of a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town. As the design of it was evidently to oppose the present movements I thought

* Gen. John Brooks, Governor of Massachusetts from 1816 to 1823, was born at Medford May 31, 1752, and died there March 1, 1825. During the Revolution he served with distinction in the army, and afterward filled various positions in civil life. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. i. p. 387.—Eds.

proper to apprehend the man. He was accordingly carried before Justice Wood, who, upon finding him to be rather an indifferent character & willing at the same time to take the oath of allegiance, admitted him to bail. It was my opinion that the mildness of this measure, after the man's conduct & the conduct of the town had met the frowns of government, would have a better effect on the minds of the disaffected in this quarter than more vigorous punishment. We have but little to fear from their power, & while we treat those who have not been in arms with lenity there can be no complaint of an undue exercise of power. A copy of the paper alluded to is enclosed.

I have as yet receivd no information from Gen^l Lincoln. The officers & men are in good spirits and would rather pursue the bussiness they have undertaken than return.

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect, Sir,

Yr. Excellency's most obed^t servt.

J. BROOKS.

MALBOROUGH, Jan^y 29, 1787.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

DURHAM, February 13th, 1787.

SIR, — Last evening I received advice from the western part of this State, where I have a gentleman now in waiting who bore my dispatches to the officers in that quarter, that on Wednesday morning last M^r Shays crossed from Westmoreland in this State over Connecticut River into Vermont; that on Tuesday he beat up for voluntiers in his own party to accompany him to Pultney in Vermont, where he said he would erect his standard, but only three followed him; the residue laid aside their arms & are gone to labor in the neighbourhood of Westmoreland for

* For a notice of General Sullivan, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 227 note. — Eds.

their support. Captain Day with another party remained at Westmoreland on Wednesday evening (his intentions unknown). Upon receiving this intelligence I have given fresh instructions & wish y^r Exc^y to favor me as soon as possible with the names of the principal insurgents as requested in my last, that I may take proper measures for apprehending and delivering them up to the State which has been so grossly injured by them.

I have the honor to be, with the most exalted sentiments of esteem & respect, Sir,

Y^r Excellency's most obed^t & very humble serv^t.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

JN^o SULLIVAN.

JOSEPH HENSHAW TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SHREWSBURY, 14th Febr, 1787.

SIR, — The rebels belonging to this town, after being repeatedly solicited, have at length (the most of them) condescended so far as to take the Oath of Allegiance, tho', as I am informed, the greater part have not subscribed the same & a much greater part have kept back their arms; whether this proceeds from the indulgence of government, your Excellency can determine: in this town, where I have the means of information, the rebellious spirit seems in no degree broken & it is given out by those, that within three months the noted Shays will again appear with a more formidable force. Notwithstanding, I have not the most distant idea of such an event, yet it discovers the same rebellious spirit; they have not forborne to insult some of the government's troops who had been frost-bitten & were on their return home. On

* Joseph Henshaw was born in Boston Dec. 20, 1727, graduated at Harvard College in 1748, and lived afterward at Leicester and Shrewsbury, where he died March 19, 1794. He was a brother of Col. William Henshaw, whose Orderly Book was printed by this Society in Proceedings, vol. xv., and took an active part at the beginning of the War of the Revolution, at which time he held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. See Washburn's History of Leicester, pp. 197-199; Ward's History of Shrewsbury, pp. 328, 329. — EDS.

Saturday evening four of the rebels apply'd to me for the oath, which I declined giving till they brought and delivered up their arms which they promised to do, but did not, yet went to Grafton & there took the oath without delivering their arms. The captains, Whiting & Howe, who are stationed in this town with two companies have been thro the rebel quarters inviting them to come in & take the oath ; how far this indulgence may answer the end designed by government, I cannot say, yet fear it may tend rather to strengthen than humble the seditious spirit; if they are suffered to retain their arms, may they not on the first opportunity further insult & embarrass government? It is with reluctance I trouble your Excellency with this intelligence, considering the multiplicity of bussiness which must necessarily engage your attention, yet the fear lest the rebels in the towns thro'out the three counties may in like manner retain their arms, &c., compells me. However, trusting that government will effectually disqualify them from creating by their votes any confusion in these counties at the next March, April, & May town meetings, & rising again in arms,

I have the honour to be, with the most dutiful respect,
your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servant.

JOSEPH HENSHAW.

Severity only will produce a slavish fear, & rebells will be kept in due subjection by no other.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

PITTSFIELD, Feb^y 14, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — I recieved information this morning that Shays & a number of his officers were at Bennington &

* Benjamin Lincoln was born in Hingham Jan. 24, 1733; died there May 9, 1810. He served with distinction throughout the War of the Revolution, and had the chief command

Shaftsbury a short time since, & that they expected to continue some time there & at White Creek, where Shays has a sister, within the State of New York & a little distance from Bennington. Hence I have been induced to write to the Governour of N. York, & have engaged M^r R. Tyler to attempt the apprehending those characters; I have sent forward by him a copy of the doings of the Gen^l Court, authorising your Excellency to issue your proclamation for the purpose of apprehending the leading characters in the rebellion, & requesting you to write to the Governours of the neighboring States for their aid; also your proclamation. I have also sent a warrant against those characters & a number of others not named in the proclamation. M^r Tyler has a recommendation to the Governours of the neighboring States for their aid.

We have parties in every direction in this county, for the purpose of apprehending & disarming those who have made an improper use of their arms. Tho' these people are obstinate & yield with reluctance, yet they must be born down, & if they will not submit to government allured by the blessings of it they must bend to its force. This will be a yoke too galling for them long to bear; it will soon melt them into submission or induce them to leave the State.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem,

Your Excellency's obed^t hum. serv^t.

B. LINCOLN.

N. B. Since writing the above I have been hon^d with the receipt of your duplicate 8th inst.

GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

of the forces raised for the suppression of Shays's insurrection. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. pp. 728, 729; Bowen's *Life of Lincoln*, in 2 Sparks's *American Biography*, vol. xiii. — Eds.

WILLIAM GREENLEAF TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

WORCESTER, Feb^y 17th, 1787.

SIR, — On Monday the 29th of Jan^y I went from Lancaster for Worcester in discharge of my official duty to the County of Worcester & Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by virtue of a warrant from your Excellency to me directed, to apprehend Doct^r Samuel Willard of Uxbridge and Lieut^t Thomas Bicknall of Grafton & others in different towns. I sent a trusty person forward to get what information of those two persons that be needfull to apprehend them. The return of the person sent out was not so favorable as I could wish. Bicknall had gone out of this Commonwealth, being alarm'd on Lieut^t Col. Luke Drury being taken, Doct^r Samuel Willard removing to his brother's in Smithfield in the State of RhodeIsland for protection I made application to Generall Warner for a number of horse and one slay with two horses. With four infantree to accompany me I proceeded on Tuesday evening the 30. Arrived at Uxbridge about 12 o'clock same evening; willing to know if Willard was at home in Uxbridge, I sent one of the horse to inquire if the Doct^r was at his house; found he was not; but being at Smithfield we then proceeded after him. I made application to Peleg Arnold, Esq^r, to strengthen the warrant. He told me he had not offitionated as a Justice since May last, but if he had been in office he would not have strengthen'd any warrant against said Willard, as he was sensible Willard was inocent of the crime alledged against him. I then applied to Judge Aldrich,

* William Greenleaf, at the time this letter was written sheriff of Worcester and colonel of one of the Worcester County regiments, was born in Lancaster Aug. 25, 1738, and married Sarah, a daughter of Edmund Quincy and sister of the wife of John Hancock. He entered the army as a captain in March, 1776, and was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in October, 1779. He died of apoplexy in Bolton in 1792. See Lunt's *Discourse on the Death of Hon. Thomas Greenleaf*, p. 24; *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution*, vol. vi. p. 854; *Nourse's Marriages, Births, and Deaths in Lancaster*, p. 330; *Worcester Spy*, Jan. 19, 1793. — Eds.

which made much the same excuse, only this addition, if it was for theft, murder, or robbery he would comply with my request, but to strengthen a warrant from this Commonwealth against said Willard he would not, although I reminded him of the consequence that would follow. I proceeded with my party where said Willard made his residence with hopes to have brought him over the line; found he had gone the day before to Providence or some other place to an intimate friend of his who was determined to secure him from being taken. The people in that State are much in the measures of the insurgents. I think it my duty as a supporter of the constitution and government of this Commonwealth to give your Excellency this information. As a plan has been lay'd by the people in Smithfield to have resqued said Willard had he been taken, I have sent to Boston agreeable to a warrant from your Excellency Lieu^t Col. Luke Drury of Grafton, Caleb Curtis of Chalton, Cap^t Jonah Golding of Ward, & Henry Gale of Princeton. I have in goal Cap^t Artemas Dryden of Holden which with some other persons I shall send on for Boston soon. I am in sanguine expectation of sending forward more of said persons mentioned in said warrants. Publick measures ware at this time a most agreeable apperance. I take the liberty to communicate to your Excellency and the Hon^{bl} Council: —

The statement of the second regiment in the County of Worcester under my command; the first order from the Hon^{bl} Maj. General Warner to me directed to detach 150 men rank & file from said regiments. Willing to give credit to every town within the limits of my regiment. Lancaster cherfully raised the men. Sterling raised there men, though with some difficulty and opposition. Princeton through one worthy officer the men was procured without any trouble. Bolton and Berlin complied with orders, got their quotas required.

The officers exerted them selves, except two in Lancaster, who have since changed there sentiments and are vollenteers as privates. I think I can with justice recomend them to your Excellency for there commissions. There names are Abel Allen, Lieu^t, Josiah Bowers, Ensign, both of Lancaster. Wish there commissions may be sent forward as soon as possable. Harvard has been opposed to the measures of government and much in measures of Shays. An opportunity was offer'd the companies to turn out vollenters. Nine only out of 28 (which was the town's quota) turned out. I accordingly gave the commissioned officers orders to draft said nineteen men; the officers utterly refused to execute said orders. The following is a copy.

LANCASTER, Jan^y 17th 1787.

Agreable to and compliance with orders from General Warner to detach 150 men from my regiment, you are directed and ordered to detach fourteen men from the companys under your command and have them equipt with every equipment agreable to the militia law immediately, and make return to me by Fryday next of the men and equipments. The men will receive marching orders from Col^o Ephraim Sternes, who is appointed to take the command of them. The selectmen will attend to the order to them respecting supplies from time to time. I am with much esteem, yours, &c.

W. GREENLEAF, Col^o.

CAPT JONATHAN WITHERBEE }
"PHILEMON PRIEST } Harvard.

The subalterns refused in the same manner the cap^t did. The nine men vollenters are included in the twenty eight for said town. The towns have complyd as fully as can be expected in raising these men, except the town of Harvard, who still persist in opposition to government and the measures now taken by authority.

I hope some spirited measures may be taken with said town and officers. The second requisitions for men are in the same predicament with the first respecting Harvard.

I have the honour to be your Excellencie's most obedient and most humble servant.

W. GREENLEAF, Sheriff.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

WILLIAM SHEPARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WESTFIELD, Feby 18th, 1787.

SIR, — We returned from our rout in the north-westwardly part of this county to Northampton last Friday evening, after receiving the submission of many people in each town of those who had borne arms or furnished provisions or in any way contributed to annoy the government.

The most criminal in almost every town have absconded, insolent menaces have been and still are in circulation in those places at least where none of the troops of government have appeared, and inflammatory letters have been handed about to prevent the evil spirits of sedition and rebellion from evaporating. We expected a forcible opposition in several places where we have been, which probably was really intended by some imprudent and inconsiderate persons. In many places they threaten still to protect, as they would call it, the more considerable fellows of their party. A transfer of real and personal property hath been made in many instances, some who have fled have drove away their cattle, and by various artifices these people attempt to defraud the public of a compensation for their crimes.

Thus it appears that many of the insurgents who suppose they are unable to cope with the government by

force are devising every method to embarrass, to intimidate, to revive the dying spirit of rebellion, and to continue to injure the State as far as is in their power from revenge, from despair and from malevolence. We have taken the arms of these deluded people who were in possession of them; but great numbers left their guns in the course of a lengthy and circuitous flight, as fear suggested the danger of returning to their families with arms. Such are to reclaim & resign them. The greater part of those to whom the oath has been administered appeared to be fully convinced of their foolish and wicked conduct and I believe will not resume their opposition. I have not received any return from the Justices who acted with other detachments of the troops whose operations were under my direction, but the people in general who have not fled into Vermont or elsewhere have taken the oath of allegiance, and have resigned their arms in all those places where the troops of government have passed.

From present appearances and prospects much decision and vigour will I think be necessary on the part of the Legislature, and this vigour and decision will undoubtedly produce the desired events. Effectually to rivet in their minds a compleat conviction of the force of government and the necessity of an entire submission to the laws these malcontents must see a considerable force in each of these three upper counties. Removing too soon that force by which alone they have been quelled, before the idea of their inferiority has become familiar and established in their minds, might be productive of pernicious consequences. Five hundred in each of these counties may suffice, with what force may be raised occasionally of the well affected inhabitants.

Whether it hath proceeded from the desire of avoiding the payment of the duties of excise solely, or not, the tavern keepers and retailers have generally been very

seditions, their houses have been the common rendezvous for the councils and the comfort of these people. A total disqualification for a limited time or for ever of enjoying those privileges ought certainly in my opinion to be the subject of serious discussion with the General Court.

Nothing very particular as yet hath been communicated from General Lincoln to me.

I have written a very similar letter to this to the Speaker of the House, and am, Sir, with much respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

W^m SHEPARD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ^r.

ROYALL TYLER TO BENJAMIN LINCOLN.*

BENNINGTON, Feb. 20, 1787.

SIR,—I was both honored & gratified by your letter accompanying the proclamation.

I repeat, Sir, if I fail of success it will not be for want of my utmost exertions.

At White Creek Adam Wheeler was taken by one of my emissaries the day before yesterday, carried two miles & an half, & then rescued by forty odd Yorkers who carried him back in triumph to a large mob. Wiley is said to have been taken. I laid a plan for that purpose, but as I have no regular account of its success I suppose the report without foundation, or that he is apprehended by some other party.

Please to send me the Act declaring a rebellion to exist in the State; the resolve requesting the Governor

* Royall Tyler was born in Boston July 18, 1757, and died in Brattleborough, Vt., Aug. 16, 1826. He studied law in the office of John Adams, and was an aide to General Lincoln in Shays's insurrection. Subsequently he removed to Vermont, and was made a judge of the Supreme Court in 1794, and in 1800 Chief Justice. He was a recognized wit and a frequent writer for the press, being the author of several plays. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. p. 201.—Eds.

to write to the neighboring States; and an affectionate letter to Gov. Chittenden.

Mr Jones will inform you my motives for this. I have entrusted him with matters unfit to be communicated on paper. Please to admit him to a private audience.

There is a certain embryo government which is as weak as water; it will be like that spilt on the ground, not to be gathered very soon, or I am mistaken.

I have the most alarming accounts from our frontier posts. Something must have gone wrong, unknown to you. I know that it is the duty of soldiers not to look behind them. It is my duty to proceed; & I will proceed.

The soldiers on the frontiers, many of them, before this will reach you will leave Col. Hagar & Major Toy. One whole company of Major Toy's command will doubtless leave him, their time having expired. Many soldiers are willing to enlist, but there are not enlisting orders or even invitations to them to enlist. The officers have been told by me & I am sure that I heard you drop the sentiment publickly, that as many of them as would tarry & enlist men for 4 months should have rank. They have some of them procured lists of those men who are willing to tarry, but are now alarmed with the news that they are to be superceeded by the officers of Berkshire. It would be vain in me to observe upon this to you.

I am the servant of my country and hope yet to render them very acceptable service.

Capt. James Varnum of Wood's regiment can be of essential service to me. If he is not at too great distance please to send him to me at Bennington. Let him go to Esqr Ticknor's house. The watchword when he meets me is *I have got a great cold*. He will come in disguise.

I am, with the highest respect,

R. TYLER.

MAJOR GEN. LINCOLN.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PITTSFIELD, Feb^y 20th, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — I was the last evening honor'd with the receipt of your Excellency's favor of y^e [blank] covering the acts of the General Court, your proclamations, and the money by the Hon^{bl} M^r Vernum. The whole was pleasing, interesting, and the arrival of it very opportune.

I have now such assurances that the two regiments of men will be soon raised that I can report with great confidence to your Excellency that nothing farther will be necessary on the part of government speedily to compleat the business than to forward the money; the whole for the non-commissioned officers & privates will amount to the sum of £1111. 12, agreeably to the inclosed estimate. The officers' half month pay must be added. I would have prevented this trouble, had I known the establishment.

I have to solicit that three hundred & fifty pounds might be immediately sent on to Col. Newell at Worcester, or lodged with Judge Lincoln subject to the Col.'s draught: that two hundred pounds might be sent to Col. Badlam at Northampton; and that the remainder may be forwarded here as soon as may be.

M^r Tyler has not yet returned. I have the pleasure to forward a copy of my instructions to him, and the papers which have arisen on the subject of his mission. They are numbered in the order they came into existence.

People who have been in arms are hourly coming in. Their flight into the bosom of their country will I doubt not be in some proportion to the mild terms held out by government as the conditions on which they may expect its favours.

I have the honour of being, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient & hum^{bl} servant.

B. LINCOLN.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

NORWICH, Febr^y 20th, 1787.

SIR, — I am honoured with your Excellency's favour of the 7th instant & a copy of your letter of the 2^d instant; but the original hath not been recieved.

I most sincerely congratulate your Excellency on the success of the wise & spirited measures that have been adopted to extinguish the insurrection in your Commonwealth.

Your Excellency may be assured, should any of those insurgents attempt to screen themselves from justice by seeking an asylum in this State they will immediately be apprehended & delivered up, agreeably to the Articles of Confederation.

Should the insurgents reassemble, nothing will be wanting on my part to prevent in the most effectual manner their being supplied with provision, arms, or military stores in this State, or having any aid or support of any kind whatever; & from the best information I can obtain of the sentiments of the good people of this State, I am satisfied they very generally detest the lawless & violent courses which the insurgents have taken.

With the greatest esteem and respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obedient, humble serv^t.

SAM^l HUNTINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

WILLIAM SHEPARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NORTHAMPTON, Febr^y 20th, 1787.

SIR, — I have been honored with your Excellency's dispatches by Major Varnum and M^r Smith, and have also

* For a notice of Samuel Huntington, Governor of Connecticut when this letter was written, see 7 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 231 note. — Eds.

just received your letter of the 30th of January, and shall always be happy to pay particular attention to your communications and orders.

Col^o Badlam's regiment, which has been under my particular direction, is to march homeward to-morrow by General Lincoln's orders, excepting those who reinlist, which I fear will be a small number, and they are ordered to join General Lincoln. I have received no orders from your Excellency or from him to take any measures whatever for the security of this goal, or for the preservation of the public peace, when this post shall be evacuated, though in my opinion they will be indangered from the sanguinary and still unsubdued spirits of those who have secreted themselves and possibly of some who have taken the oath of allegiance to the government. More is to be apprehended from assassination and from secret plots than from open violence; and, as I mentioned in my last letter which Mr Fowler will have the honor to deliver, it appears to me unquestionably necessary that a respectable force, perhaps five hundred, should be kept up in each of these three upper counties to overawe and subdue the tempers of these miscreants.

In an attempt to apprehend a Cap^t Parmenter of Barnardston, who has been very busy in acting and spreading sedition & has exerted himself very much to annoy the government, a Mr Walker of the town of Whately, a very likely man, was killed by this Parmenter. Mr Whitney, a member of the House, & Cap^t Lyman of Northfield by the misfiring of the muskets of the two men with Parmenter saved their lives. These fellows made their escape, but Parmenter, his two sons, and his son in law have since been taken, and are expected here immediately. Parmenter, when he met this sleigh, jumped out of his own, presented his musket with charged bayonet and ordered the men to surrender as prisoners, and when Walker jumped out and presented his pistol, they both fired together.

A party of four came down a few nights since to assassinate Capt Chapin of Barnardston, but could not find him.

I have apprehended Justus Wright, an outlaw, who is in irons at this place in goal; for the particulars concerning this man, permit me to refer your Excellency to Dr Hunt of this town, now at Boston as a member of the House.

Many of our insurgents are skulking in the margin of Vermont & New Hampshire, and probably wait a favorable conjunction of circumstances to renew their hostilities upon this government, and the moment an armed force ceases to appear in this county (for the guard of one hundred at Springfield can not influence people in the north of the county) they may rush down, plunder, and murder at their pleasure.

Mr Harvey of Montague, a member of the present General Court, is in goal here, who has, I suppose, been extremely seditious. I wait your Excellency's orders for my direction about sending him and many others to Boston. Our goals are full, and possibly entire safety may induce this measure.

Since writing the above, Parmenter, his son, and son in law, and those whose muskets misfired, have been committed with a few others to this goal, and those who were concerned in the firing have confessed it.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant.

W^m SHEPARD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

JONATHAN WARNER TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WORCESTER, Feby y^e 20th, 1787.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, — The spirit of faction which has so generally prevailed in divers parts

of this county is now continually decreasing, & I believe but little is to be feared from the malcontents in future.

When I wrote your Excellency on the 17th ins^t, which was forwarded by Mr Rice, I supposed it necessary that a small detachment should be made from the militia; but according to present appearances, I think a further draft will be unnecessary, as I have prevailed with one or two companies which are now posted in this town to continue after the term expires for which they are now engaged, for the purpose of guarding the public stores & prisoners in this place, untill new troops are raised and ordered here for the purpose; which will be much less expence to goverment than a draft as aforesaid, which I hope & trust will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

Relative to the particular situation of affairs in this county, I will refer to Mr Lincoln, who is the bearer of this letter.

I have the honour of being, with esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant.

JON^A WARNER, M. G.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO GEORGE CLINTON.*

PITTSFIELD, Feby 21st, 1787.

SIR, — I presume that the Governour of this State has fully detailed to your Excellency the rise and progress of the disaffection to government, and the measures consequently adopted by the Legislature to quiet and bring back the disaffected to their duty and allegiance, prior to an armed force being ordered into the field. As I am informed, he has likewise requested your Excellency's aid in apprehending such of the rebels as should flee from justice in expectation of finding an asylum in your State.

* See a reference to this letter in General Lincoln's letter to Governor Bowdoin, *post*, p. 158. — Eds.

Any observations of mine therefore on these heads will be unnecessary ; I need only observe in general that there are a number of the rebels who have fled from this and are now within the limits of your State. Near the borders they remain from day to day parading in arms, and are uttering their menaces against the government and good people of this Commonwealth. They are comforted and say that they have the promise of support from your inhabitants.

One of the leaders of the rebellion, viz., Adam Wheeler, was a few days since apprehended at White Creek, conveyed a few miles, then rescued by about forty of your men and carried back in triumph.

I receive frequent information that this intercourse produces very bad effects upon the minds of your people. Many of them are nearly ripe to commit any outrage on the government of either of the two States as they shall be directed by artful men. This circumstance I could not conceal from your Excellency.

It will add much to the peace and happiness of this State and to the establishing government in it if your Excellency would cause to be apprehended and sent over the line all such of our inhabitants as are now on your side of it for the express purpose of evading justice.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's very humble servant.

[*Not signed.*]

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOUR CLINTON.*

GENERAL ORDERS.

WITH this day the time expires for which the troops now in the field engaged to serve. That the great objects for which they were embodied are so nearly

* Indorsed, apparently by Governor Bowdoin's secretary: "No. 4— from Royal Tyler." — Eds.

accomplished the General is persuaded must be pleasing to all. He congratulates the troops on the important event. That it has so speedily taken place may be justly ascribed under the Supreme Director of all events to the great exertions and military zeal exhibited on every occasion by the officers & soldiers of the line; and by the system & unremitted attention in the staff departments, without which every operation must have been delayed. In justice to the army and as a gratification of his own feelings he will take the earliest opportunity to lay before the Governor the high sense he entertains of their important services.

The troops will immediately draw provisions for the 23^d & 24th. They will draw at Northampton 3 days provisions more, and at Worcester provisions to carry them to their respective homes. The Commissary will make the necessary provisions for these supplies.

The troops will be marched thro' the country in regiments, & not suffered to act so unmilitary a part as to straggle on the road; as this irregularity would operate much to their own injury, to the distress of the inhabitants, and to the dishonour of the army. Every person who continues with his regiment & subjects himself to the order of his officers will receive his pay untill he arrives at his own home. The General wishes the troops an agreeable march and a happy sight of their families and friends, and that hereafter they may be free from intestine broils and foreign invasions.

PITTSFIELD, Feb. 21st, 1787.

Morning Orders of the 22^d

WILLIAM SHEPARD TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NORTHAMPTON, Feb^y 21st, 1787.

SIR, — Gad Sacket of Westfield has desired liberty to surrender himself, if he may be admitted to bail. He

was appointed one of the committee to organize the militia under Shays, but never knew of his appointment till after he joined him in the course of hostilities. As Noble and Killam of that town, who acted as his lieutenants, and have in my opinion discovered more malevolent dispositions and more active conduct than this man, you will allow me to intercede that he might be encouraged to surrender himself on that condition, as he has a chargeable family, which is supported by his industry, and the town will be burthened with their support if he should be committed. We have some privates in Westfield, who are more criminal than Sacket, particularly Ezra Clap and Richard Nimocks, who ought I think to be apprehended.

Cap^t Buffington has returned since my letter of yesterday to this town. He has been in Vermont with about twenty horsemen to apprehend certain characters who we knew were at Brattleborough, and though they received official support from the magistrate, and were within half an hour of them, yet the desired event was entirely disconcerted by the rabble of the town, who were altogether in the interest of those culprits, gave them intelligence, detained them by artifice, and even by an armed force of nearly seventy, insulted them extremely, and would even have made them prisoners, if they had had courage. The horsemen left the town, since their object was lost, that disagreeable consequences might be avoided. On their return they were extremely industrious and serviceable in the capture of Parmenter, his associates, and a few others in the same quarter.

I can not omit once more to testify to your Excellency the high sense which I must entertain of the important services of Cap^t Buffington and the gentlemen who have rode with him, in their patience, industry, courage, and prudent conduct in severe fatigue. I think it of great consequence to the interest of the service to keep up this

body of horsemen, and could wish for your interposition that their services may neither be unnoticed nor unrewarded.

I would suggest to your Excellency that making an immediate example of Parmenter, and of those who misfired, might have a happy effect on the minds of the insurgents.

Last evening Col^o Chapin gave me an authenticated return of two field officers, who were legally chosen to serve in his, the 2^d Regiment, Major William Lyman as Lieu^t Colonel, and Cap^t Solomon Allen as Major, both of whom belong to this town. I have appointed M^r Samuel Mather, J^r, as an aid de camp in the room of Major Lyman, and he also now belongs to this place. Your Excellency will be pleased to forward their commissions immediately, as Lieu^t Col^o Lyman is appointed in the four months service.

Last night I had orders from General Lincoln to raise a regiment under Col^o Badlam; as many as possible from his present regiment and the remainder from this county.

I enclose to your Excellency a narrative of Cap^t Buffington's ex[pedition] which he just now gave me.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant.

W^m SHEPARD.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ^r.

SAMUEL BUFFINGTON'S NARRATIVE.

BEING sent by order of General Shepard with a troop of horse for apprehending culprits who had fled to Vermont, I went from Northfield last Friday evening, the 16th inst, to Brattleborough to reconnoitre, the troop being left at Northfield. A number of persons were

found to be in and about that town. Word was sent back & the troop ordered on that night to Brattleborough. Finding the rabble of that town had appointed a committee for the purpose of protecting the persons we were in pursuit of, I found it necessary to make the search. That night officers & a warrant were procured, but I could not apprehend them by reason of the protection of the rabble. I then went with part of the troop to New Marlborough, 10 miles distant, without the appearance of arms or accoutrements which were carried secretly in a chest in a sleigh that went on for that purpose. Suspecting a number of principal characters were within two miles from where we halted, it was necessary to reconnoitre the ground for the purpose of adopting a plan to secure them, but failed from not being authorised to stop any persons who were inhabitants of that State. The characters we were in pursuit of, Luke & Elijah Day with others, obtained information by one of the party beforementioned & effected their escape about 15 minutes before we arrived; the particular circumstances of their escape at that time being unknown, or we should have pursued them. Soon after a messenger arrived from the rabble at Brattleborough, demanding from what authority we came there. His own authority was immediately demanded, and when known the principal characters of the rabble were taken from him & committed to writing, after which he was informed that no account would be given him, as he came not from an authoritative body. In our return we fell in with a party of 60 or 70, who made the same demands. They were enquired of if a magistrate was present or any other authoritative body. Finding this was not the case, we only observed that our business was to apprehend criminals, and if they were found in that body of people they would instantly be apprehended, be the consequence what it would. To which they answered, no person

should be carried from that State, as we were in pursuit of the most virtuous of our citizens. The reply was, that should they be found here an attack would instantly be made unless they surrendered, and that I should not consider myself answerable for the consequences that might follow from opposition. They called for arms immediately. A number appeared in arms, others had recourse to the woodpile for missile weapons. The same evening a party collected for the purpose of attacking us; but we were so far on our return that they did not come up with us. The same evening a party was detached for apprehending a Cap^t Parmenter, of Shays party, who had a small party with him, which detachment unexpectedly met said Parmenter fleeing in a sleigh to Vermont. M^r Aaron Whitney of Northfield went as a guide forward in a sleigh. The sleighs ran upon each other undiscovered. Parmenter hailed them, receiving no answer immediately sprang from the sleigh and ordered his men to fire. M^r Whitney replied, Do not fire. Immediately two guns were presented within a few feet of his breast, which in snapping misfired, at which M^r Jacob Walker, one of the troop, had got in the rear of Parmenter's sleigh. On which Parmenter shot him through the body, of which he died within half an hour. The snow being deep and in a thicket of wood, the horsemen could not pursue, therefore the whole party made their escape. A number of the horsemen were dismounted, and put on snow shoes and went in pursuit the next forenoon, and hearing they had fled to Vermont, I sent a body of infantry from the militia to the line of this State, and the horse and the snow shoe men went into Vermont and fortunately the whole party was taken.

SAMUEL BUFFINGTON.

NORTHAMPTON, Feb 21st, 1787.

ROYALL TYLER TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

GREEN MOUNTAINS, Feb^y 21, 1787.

SIR, — I wrote to you the last evening by Mr Jones, recommended him to a private audience, & acknowledged the honour of the rec^t of your letter of 19th.

I communicated matters so fully by him that I have nothing new to offer which can be safely trusted on paper. The gentleman who will have the honour of delivering you this is M^r Paine, formerly of our State & butler to the University at Cambridge; now a citizen deservedly & highly respected in this governm^t; you will oblige me & probably advance the interest of my mission by shewing him civility; he is not however, tho' highly deserving, any wise initiated in my plans.

I can accomplish the great object of my instructions, *I think*, even now, but I intend it shall be effected without making a rupture with this people. The state of this country is such that I must depend upon the troops upon the frontiers as a cover at least.

Sir, I am, with the highest respect,

R. TYLER.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PITTSFIELD, Feb^y 22^d, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — I was informed last night by a line from M^r Sedgwick, that there was in the town of Lee one Esquire Perry of the town of Easton, in the county of Bristol, who was endeavouring to blow up the spark of rebellion; besides this information he is generally supposed to be a very dangerous man. I have therefore sent for him, & now have him confined. I wish your Excellency's directions what shall be done with him; I think he should be confined by a State warrant.

There are a number of officers & privates, inhabitants of this county, who are now hovering about the borders of it, wishing many of them to return. I have thought them a dangerous body to the inhabitants which lye contiguous to the places where they are. It being out of the State; & they being mixed among the inhabitants of the neighbouring States, I do not think myself authorized to approach them; should we attempt it & an action ensue, & the innocent inhabitants should suffer, I do not see how I could be justified; some of the officers are come in & others wish to; they are willing to give heavy bonds for their appearance, &c. I think we had better admit on these terms characters the least influential; if the officers are brought off the men will come in also: what I have done in this matter has been by the advice of the best citizens; I wish your Excellency's directions on this subject also. There are also some men named in the State warrants who are among the number & have acted as officers, not of the first rank, who, I am informed, wish to come in on the same conditions. From the information I now have of their characters, I think they may be admitted with the greatest safety; indeed I am convinced it will promote the general good to do it. I am fully in opinion that we might now liberate, under bonds, all who have been apprehended on State warrants in this county; those characters who have been committed are not the most dangerous, unless Dr Whiting should be considered so & even he at this stage of the Rebellion would rather, I think, study how he could recommend himself to government & to his fellow citizens by a very different line of conduct from the one he has pursued than think of fanning the coals of sedition. The Sheriff will not apprehend any others, unless he should meet some who are the most aggravatedly guilty, untill I shall hear from your Excellency on this subject, for our goals are now full.

Adam Wheeler was a few days since apprehended at White Creek, in the bounds of N. York & brought off two or three miles, but was after rescued & carried back in triumph by a number of Yorkers; this information, with other, I have communicated to the Governor of New-York; a copy of my letter to him is enclosed. I hope he will exert himself to apprehend certain of our characters & send them across the line. I am confident that the safety of that government depends upon his exertions at this hour as much as the safety of ours depends upon the continued exertions of this State; the disaffection to order & government is fast spreading in the neighbouring States; the reins of government must be drawn up or they will be trodden under foot pretty generally in this part of the world.

The time for which our men engaged to serve expires with this day; those who have not been discharged have patiently continued in the field to the latest moment. The troops which have been called from the different counties on this occasion have thro' the whole of their services discovered that obedience & military ardour which would have done honour to much older troops; by these circumstances & the patriotism discovered in their flying to arms on the very first invitation for the defence of government, they have merited much & are entitled to the highest applause. Would it not, Sir, have a good effect, would it not be political, to give them some public testimony of the approbation of government?

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with the greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's obed^t hum. servant.

B. LINCOLN.

GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

SPEECH TO THE GENERAL COURT.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE & GENTLEMEN OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

It was expected by the General Court that their proceedings at their last session, respecting the insurgents, would have answered the purpose for which they were intended. By those proceedings there was held forth to them punishment on the one hand, and pardon on the other. Punishment, in case of perseverance in their criminal conduct. Pardon and indemnity, if they desisted from it, and by a given time should take the oaths of allegiance. This application to their feelings, and to that actuating principle, a desire of personal safety, it was apprehended would have had a forcible influence to bring them to their duty. But unhappily, it did not produce any good effect, except upon a very few individuals of them. On the contrary, the lenity and forbearance of government were treated with contempt, and imputed by them to an inability to defending itself; and some of your last Acts have been added to their list of grievances.

But the clearest and most unequivocal evidence of their perseverance in opposition to government is deduced from their proceedings respecting the judicial courts in several of the counties since the last session of the General Court. They twice with an armed force stopped those courts in Worcester; and would not suffer them to open in Hampshire. They attempted it, though unsuccessfully, in Middlesex; and in consequence of that attempt several of them were taken into custody by virtue of State warrants; in the execution of which, the Sheriff and other persons to whom the warrants were directed had the aid and support of a number of spirited gentlemen of that county & Suffolk. At the last time

* Printed from a draught in the handwriting of a clerk, with interlineations and other changes by Governor Bowdoin. — EDS.

of their assembling in Worcester, there were nearly a thousand of them in arms, who to the great annoyance & terror of that vicinity continued embodied for several days after the court had adjourned; meditating, as it was apprehended, further outrages, which were providentially prevented by the continued storms of that week.

These violent and treasonable proceedings of the insurgents were perpetrated after the publication of the last acts of the General Court respecting them; and demonstrated, not only a total disregard of those acts, and the authority by which they were enacted, but a contempt of all constitutional government and a fixed determination to persevere in measures for subverting it.

This determination and these measures were also manifest by their printed declarations, and by some of the private transactions of their leaders when the main body of the insurgents were last assembled at Worcester; by which it appeared, the insurgents were formed into regiments and that a committee was appointed for each regiment to see that it should without delay be properly officered & equipped and compleatly ready whenever called upon. That this was the state of things in the western counties, was further confirmed by letters I received from some of the most respectable characters in those counties, and by the oral testimony of many intelligent persons from thence, who all agreed in the necessity of speedy & vigorous measures being taken for the effectual suppression of the insurgents, without which the well-affected might from a principle of self-preservation be obliged to join them, and the insurrection become general.

The safety & well being of the Commonwealth being thus in hazard, and the lenient, conciliating measures of the General Court having been rejected by the insurgents, I conceived myself under every obligation of honor and duty to exert the powers vested in me by law & the Constitution for the protection & defence of the

Commonwealth against the hostile & nefarious attempts of those lawless men.

Pursuant to this idea, I laid before the Council all the information & intelligence I had collected relative to the proceedings and designs of those men; and the Council were unanimously of opinion and accordingly advised that vigorous & effectual measures should be taken to protect the Judicial Courts, particularly those that were then to be next holden at Worcester; to aid the civil magistrate in executing the laws; to repel all insurgents against the government; and to apprehend all disturbers of the public peace: particularly such of them as might be named in any State warrant or warrants.

For these purposes, upon the effecting of which all good government and indeed the happy existence of the Commonwealth do essentially depend, I have called forth from several counties a respectable body of the militia, the command of which I have given to Major General Lincoln, with orders to carry those purposes into effectual execution.

Those orders are now in operation and will be laid before you, with the general orders, containing the plan of measures by which the Commonwealth was to be defended against its present assailants.

I congratulate you, Gentlemen, on the success of those measures hitherto, and hope it is a prelude to final success, and to the re-establishment of perfect tranquillity. The despatches concerning it which I have received from General Lincoln and Gen^l Shepard will be laid before you.

Thus, Gentlemen, from a principle of duty to the Commonwealth, and in conformity to your resolution of the 24th of October, in which you express a full confidence, "that I will still persevere in the exercise of such powers as are vested in me by the Constitution for preventing any attempts to interrupt the administration of law and

justice, and for enforcing due obedience to the authority and laws of government," I have taken the measures above represented. I trust they will meet with your entire approbation, and with *that* support which is naturally to be expected from the guardians of the public safety.

On my part, I have done in this business what the duty of my office and the oath of qualification indispensably require: and I have the fullest confidence that on your part nothing will be wanting to carry into complete effect the measures that have been taken or that may be further necessary to suppress the present insurrection, and to ensure a strict obedience to the laws. This is so essential to the peace and safety of the Commonwealth that it requires your immediate attention; and the speedy application of further means, if those already taken should be deemed insufficient for that purpose.

Among those means you may deem it necessary to establish some criterion for discriminating between good citizens and insurgents, that each might be regarded according to their characters: the former as their country's friends and to be protected; and the latter as public enemies and to be effectually suppressed. At such a time as the present every man ought to show his colours and take his side: no neutral characters should be allowed, nor any one suffered to vibrate between the two.

Vigour, decision, energy will soon terminate this unnatural, this unprovoked insurrection, and prevent the effusion of blood: but the contrary may involve the Commonwealth in a civil war, and all its dreadful consequences, which may extend not only to the neighbouring States, but even to the whole Confederacy, and finally destroy the fair temple of American liberty, in the erecting of which, besides the vast expence of it, many thousands of valuable citizens have been sacrificed.

There are several things resulting from the measures in operation which require your immediate attention.

The money immediately wanted for carrying them into execution was supplied by a voluntary loan from a number of gentlemen, and in a manner which does them much honour. I must earnestly recommend to you to provide for its reimbursement, which upon the principles of policy as well as justice should be made as speedily as possible. Provision also should be made for defraying the general expence.

Should the time be too short to effect the great purposes for which the militia were called forth, it may be necessary that General Lincoln should be empowered to continue them in service by enlistment until those purposes shall be accomplished. The men being already embodied and the arrangements for supporting them perfected, the expence of such a continuance will be much less than that of raising a new body for the same service.

There are defects in our militia act which require an immediate remedy; and which I shall mention to you in a separte message.

These, Gentlemen, are matters of importance, but the general subject of this address is of the first magnitude, and demands your immediate & most serious attention. If it be taken up with proper spirit, if the measures in operation be seconded with firmness and decision, and if the powers of the several branches of government be united in a wise & vigorous exertion, we may reasonably expect a speedy & happy issue to the present insurrection; to which happy issue every exertion on my part has been and shall be applied.

But on the contrary, if indecision, languor or disunion should on this occasion pervade our public councils, insurrection, though checked for the present, would gain new strength, and like a torrent might sweep away every mound of the Constitution, and overwhelm the Commonwealth in every species of calamity. In such a case, if brought on by remissness or relaxation on our part, we

should be not only involved, most essentially involved, in that calamity, but justly chargeable with betraying the trust reposed in us by our fellow-citizens, and chargeable with ignominiously deserting the posts assigned us as guardians of the peace, the safety, and happiness of the Commonwealth.

But very happily this is only a possible case: for your patriotism, your virtue, your regard for your own liberties and property and for those of your families & posterity, must induce you to call forth every power of government into vigorous exertion for preventing such a complication, such an accumulation of evils.

On this occasion it is proper, Gentlemen, to inform you that I have received from several towns petitions directed to the Governor & Council, and also to the General Court, relative to the insurgents. The petitions, being eight in number, do disapprove of the proceedings of government in regard to those people.

But as the things prayed for were, for the most part, not cognizable by the Governor & Council, and such as were so, could not be granted by them consistently with the duty they owe to the Commonwealth, the petitions will be laid before you for *your* consideration.

There are other matters to which your attention, Gentlemen, is necessary; and they will be communicated by message.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, Feby, 1787.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

SAMUEL VAUGHAN, JR., TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

PHILADELPHIA, 5 March, 1787.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, — I very sincerely congratulate you on the successful issue of your endeavours to quell the rebellion lately existing in your State. The prudence

* For a notice of the writer of this letter, see 2 Proceedings, vol. xvii. p. 354 note. — EDS.

& foresight you manifested at its rise & during the course of it I hope will ensure a proper confidence on the part of the Legislature to delegate such a power as may be necessary to preserve so beautiful a fabric as the one lately erected by the late revolution from the rude shocks of an unprincipled, deluded set of people. The attack will not I hope be repeated, & if it is the sole one I think the revolution in favor of liberty & reason to be cheaply purchased. With an education received under a corrupted government licentiousness may be easily mistaken for liberty. For a just idea of the latter to be the prevalent & universal sentiment we must wait patiently the time of the rising generation which will be born & brought up under its influence. We see even the first among us, & colleted Legislatures, often deviating from the doctrines of liberty & personal right, why then be surprised at the less instructed being mistaken in their opinions & practice were it without the interference of designing men. The political maxims of these States differ from those of any State hitherto established & the best educated & most experienced individuals are but novists with respect to their true policy. This consideration has induced a number of the most distinguished characters here to form themselves into a Society for Political Enquiries with a view of extending their own knowledge on subjects of political oeconomy. This Society may give rise to others & tend much to the acquisition & dissemination of proper sentiments respecting both the conduct of individuals to a State & of the latter to individuals. As the formation of a similar Society may be worthy your attention to the northward, as soon as the preamble & laws are printed I shall do myself the pleasure of presenting them to your Excellency.

When I was last at Boston I promised your Excellency the description of an electrical machine of superior force made at Harlem with an acco^t of its effects. Circumstances

then prevented me & I have the pleasure at present to enclose it. I also promised to forward an acco^t of the New Science M^r Adams, Jun^r, related to you had been discovered in France relative to the distinguishing of vessels at prodigious distances. I did not send it as it has since appeared to be only a satire on the credulity of the age, but if it interests your Excellency you will find it in the Collumbian Magazine for Jan^y last, page 221.

In the Philosophical Society nothing has lately been read of consequence, excepting some observations & conjecture of M^r Rittenhouse on the formation of clouds. He supposes mountains to be the cause of them. A few days since D^r Smith, the Vice President of Prince Town College, read an oration before the Society & the public. The subject was to prove philosophically the testimony of Scripture of the human race being derived from a single couple. It is elegant, ingenious, & the subject treated very extensively. The Society will publish it, when I shall forward a copy. The Philos^l Society are about to prepare another volume for the press. The Boston Society it is hoped will not be behind hand. At the nomination of my father you have been elected a member of the Society here. I suppose you have been informed of it by the Secretaries.

My father begs your acceptance of his comp^s & that you will present them to M^{rs} Bowdoin & M^r & M^{rs} Wintrop. I request mine to be joined to his.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to remain

Your Excellency's most obedient & humble serv^t

SAMUEL VAUGHAN, JUN^r.

P. S. If an opportunity should offer for this place I shall be much indebted to your Excellency to send me a copy of the list of disorders or table that your Society sent to the different towns to determine the disorders of Massachusetts & draw Tables of Mortality.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOV^r BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO RUFUS KING AND NATHAN DANE.

THE HON. RUFUS KING & NATHAN DANE, Esq^{rs},
Delegates in Congress.

BOSTON, March 6, 1787.

GENTLEMEN, — The sole reason why the rebellion is not entirely crushed is the protection & countenance which the rebels find in those parts of the State of New York & Territory of Vermont contiguous to the northwestern corner of our State, from whence they make predatory incursions into the latter. Our troops chase them to the line; but Gen^l Lincoln has been delicately cautious as to passing it.

Major Tyler, the bearer of this, is charged with instructions to request the aid of New York in effecting the apprehension or expulsion of those rebels who have taken refuge in that State. Although we have the firmest reliance upon the good disposition of the Legislature of New York and the decided activity of their Governour, yet to guard against all possible accidents, should New York be disinclined or unable to render us effectual aid, it may be proper for this State to make application for federal assistance, which would be totally unnecessary if our troops had the same right of acting in other States as in our own.

Major Tyler is directed to confer with you upon this subject, and you will determine what is most eligible to be done when he has informed you of all circumstances.

He has farther instructions respecting the conduct of Vermont. You will please to give such credit to his propositions as are due to a person who has the confidence of this government. Mr Tyler has a letter from me for Governour Clinton upon the same subject. After you have read it, he will seal and deliver it to him. I have the honour to be with y^e most perfect esteem, Gentⁿ,

Yr. most ob^t hble. serv.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE CLINTON.

BOSTON, March 6th, 1787.

SIR, — By a resolution of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, of which a copy is enclosed, it is my duty again to address your Excellency on a subject of great importance, not only to this State, but to the State of New York and indeed to all the States in the Union. It is to request, and accordingly with great earnestness I request, your Excellency that the most speedy and effectual measures may be taken under the authority of your Excellency for the apprehending and securing the fugitive rebels of this State who have fled and taken refuge within the limits of New York, and for transmitting them to the authority of this State, conformably to the Confederation. It is an undoubted fact that a great number of the people of your county of Washington, adjoining to our county of Berkshire, are possessed of the same spirit of rebellion which is so prevalent in Berkshire; that they have joined and given aid to our rebels & with them have made predatory irruptions into Berkshire, and then retreating have secured themselves within the line of New York, wither our troops did not think themselves authorized to follow them without permission from your Excellency. This being the case & in consequence of it the rebellion likely to spread into your State and all the States, your Excellency will permit me to suggest whether it will not be necessary that a body of the well affected militia of New York should without delay proceed into Washington county and co-operate with ours for the effectual suppression of the rebellion, or that your Excellency should commission our militia to enter into your State for that purpose.

For such a commission your Excellency will observe by the resolve aforesaid I am requested to apply to you, which accordingly it is incumbent upon me to do, and

which I also do from a full persuasion of the necessity of it. Major Tyler, who is charged with this letter, has acted as an aid de camp to General Lincoln; can give you a full account of the disposition of the people and the state of things in those counties; and can be confided in to execute any of your commands. To him I beg leave to refer you for further information; and am, with great respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant.

HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE CLINTON, ESQ^R.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO RUFUS KING AND NATHAN DANE.

BOSTON, March 11, 1787.

THE HON. RUFUS KING, NATHAN DANE, ESQ^S,
Delegates in Congress.

GENT^N, — I have received the favour of y^r letter of the fourth instant, with the resolve of the Legislature of New York, requesting Gov^r Clinton to call out a body of their militia to co-operate with ours in suppressing the insurgents. This spirited measure does honour to New York & to Gov^r Clinton in particular, who with so much alacrity and expedition had proceeded to carry it into execution. It is hoped it will effectually quell the insurrectionary spirit that was very fast spreading in the northern parts of that State, to which many of our insurgents had retreated. A number of them went into New Hampshire, but General Sullivan's proclamation, and other judicious measures of his, have occasioned most of them to retire into Vermont, which is now their principal asylum. I have repeatedly written to Gov^r Chittenden on that subject; but have not yet received any answer. If they cannot be dislodged from thence, their incursions may keep the western counties in perpetual alarm; and such a nest of them may be really hazardous to the Union.

Upon this idea is founded the enclosed Resolve of the General Court of y^e 8th instant, requesting Congress to give a commission to Gen^l Lincoln with power & authority to march the forces under his command into any territory within the United States for the sole purpose of apprehending the leaders and others concerned in the insurrection & rebellion, and bringing them to justice. You will please to apply to that honourable body in the name of this government for such a commission accordingly.

Enclosed also is a Resolve of y^e General Court of the 7th of March instant, respecting the fund out of which the federal troops ordered by Congress to be raised within this State shall be cloathed and subsisted; and requesting that y^e s^d troops, wth those raised in New York & y^e States eastward of it, may be ordered to afford their aid in pursuing & apprehending the rebels in any place within y^e United States. You will please to attend to this resolve also, and endeavour to obtain from Congress a compliance with the requests of the General Court contained in it.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect regard,
Gentⁿ,

Yr. m^o obed^t hble. serv.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO RUFUS KING AND NATHAN DANE.

BOSTON, March 14th, 1787.

THE HON. RUFUS KING, NATHAN DANE, ESQ^{RS}.

GENTⁿ, — By the last post I enclosed to you several Resolves of the General Court & requested your attention to them; and now enclose another of the 9th instant, by which you are instructed to move in Congress that y^e widows & orphans of such officers as fell in y^e public service prior to the year 1777 may have y^e benefits of y^e Resolve of Congress of y^e 8th of May, 1778. You will accordingly please to apply to Congress for that purpose.

I am very respectfully, Gentⁿ, y^r most obed^t hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE CLINTON.

BOSTON, March 15, 1787.

HIS EXC^Y GEORGE CLINTON, ESQ^R,
Gov^r of y^e State of New York.

SIR,—I am honoured by your Excy's letter of the 24th ultimo, which came to hand the 7th instant, accompanied with the Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of New York for communicating to the Six Nations the mutual cession of lands between this State and that.

I immediately by a message transmitted the letter & resolutions to the Legislature of this State. But the pressure of other business, and their prior determination to close the session within that week, occasioned them to refer the proposal of an interview with those Indians to the consideration of the next General Court, w^{ch} will meet in the last week of May.

Had the Court thought proper at this time to have agreed to y^e proposal, and to request my attendance upon the business, I should readily have undertaken it; and the more so as in the transacting of it I should have had y^e pleasure and advantage of being connected with your Excellency.

I am much obliged for your congratulations upon the success of our army in y^e suppression of the rebellion; and they afford me the greater satisfaction as that success has probably secured New York, and perhaps the United States in general, from the dangerous consequences of a more extensive rebellion. Your Excy's proclamation issued in consequence of mine for apprehending some of the principal rebels, the vigorous resolutions of the Legislature of New York for preventing the spread of the rebellion, and your very expeditious & spirited movements for the same purpose, of which our delegates in Congress and General Lincoln have given me information, claim the thanks of this Commonwealth, which you will have the goodness to accept, with assurances that in

like circumstances or in any extraordinary emergency, the State of New York may depend upon a like generous co-operation with her on the part of this Commonwealth.

I have the honour to be, with real esteem,

Sir, yr. Excy's most obed^t hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO RUFUS KING AND NATHAN DANE.

BOSTON, March 15, 1787.

THE HON^{BLE} RUFUS KING, NATHAN DANE ESQ^{RS}.

GENT^N, — I have received your favour of y^e 7th instant with the Act of the Legislature of New York for lengthening the time for compleating the running of the jurisdiction line between this State and that. I hope agreeably to my last, w^{ch} enclosed our Act for the same purpose, you will be able to put this business in a train of speedy settlement.

Enclosed is a Resolve of the General Court, passed the 26th of February, by which you will observe that as the Commonwealth has been and is in a state of war, they thought it impracticable to order an assessment of the two last requisitions of Congress; and therefore that they had referred them to the next General Court. If you think it needful you will please to inform Congress of that resolve.

Enclosed also is a letter for Governour Clinton, which after perusal please to seal and send to him.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, Gentⁿ,

Yr. most ob^t hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

P. S. Since writing y^e above I have read y^e New York Act respecting y^e jurisdiction line, and find by it that two additional Commissioners are to be appointed by Congress; that their two former acts for settling that line are repealed, &c., w^{ch} will make it needful for us to

have a supplementary Act, or, like theirs, a new Act repealing the former. In either case, as the Gen^l C^t is prorogued y^e business must be postponed. It may be eligible therefore if y^e Legislature of New York be in session that they should empower the present Commissioners, agreeably to our last Act & their own former Acts, to compleat the s^d line. In this case Gov^r Clinton & you without further procrastination can write to the Commissioners at Philadelphia to agree upon a time for compleating that business.

NOAH WEBSTER TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

SIR, — I rely on your Excellency's goodness to pardon my presumption in offering you my sentiments on public affairs. When the State which is honored with your administration is alarmed with a civil war; when our domestic debt is on the brink of annihilation; and the whole federal body crumbling to pieces; the well-designed efforts of any individual to preserve peace & save our credit & union will at least be excused by a gentleman of your Excellency's candor.

I have long been of opinion that it would be wrong to fund our domestic debt in its present state; & would the insurgents complain of this grievance only — *the payment of interest in specie on the certificates* — and not proceed to arms, I should be pleased with their opposition.

It appears to me, Sir, that the zeal which influential men discover in funding the debt to preserve the public faith is extremely ill-directed, & would if effectual ruin the public & their faith together. To pay the debt to the men who now hold the evidences of it appears to me the most iniquitous measure that a legislature can adopt — a violation of their own engagements as well as of the compact by which society exists. I have heard, Sir, all

the arguments that *have* been and probably all that *can* be brought by the advocates of the funding system & they all appear to me founded in fallacy.

We are told, Sir, that the public has recieved the full value of the debt in money, supplies, or services, & ought to pay the whole. This is granted.

We are told that if men parted with their certificates at a discount, it was their own act & they have no right to complain. This is not granted.

We are told that if the public owe the money it is immaterial to whom they pay it. This is not true.

We are told that if *A* gives *B* a bond for £100, & *B*, rather than wait for his money, assigns the bond to *C* for £50, *A* cannot refuse to pay *C* the *full* nominal value because he purchased it for the one *half*. This is conceded, but the principle will not apply to the case of the public debt.

In the first place, it is denied that the public creditors parted with their certificates thro' choice; at least the discount was not a matter of choice. They wanted this money, they could not obtain it, they could not wait, & a *part* of it was better at the time than the *whole* would be ten or fifteen years afterwards. Still they wanted *all* their dues; and nothing but necessity induced them to sacrifice a greater distant good to a small good at hand. The public promised them their demands & has not paid them,—the money is still due to *them* & public faith forbids that it should be paid to *others*. The public ought not, Sir, to suffer her own fault to deprive the citizen of $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of his due & then in a rage for *pre-serving faith* pay the money to men who have no demand for the nominal sum, but what is grounded on that delinquency of the State.

In the second place, it is *not immaterial* to whom the debt is paid; for the debt is in certificates & by selling them for less than their nominal value the holder loses

the property which is to pay the debt. Let the original creditor have the full value and he can discharge his part of the debt without distressing himself. But in compelling the original creditor to pay the public debt, there is an injustice, a wickedness peculiar to the present case; for he loses the money first & then is taxed to pay the full sum to the purchaser. A man who sells a note for a fifth of its value & then is taxed to pay the full sum instead of gaining his money *once* absolutely loses it *twice*. This is literally true in America, & it is an intolerable evil.

The case of *A* giving a bond to *B* is totally inapplicable in every particular. It is not a parrallel case, for if *A* has had the value of the bond, it is immaterial to whom he pays the money, for he pays it but once; whereas the public creditors lose the money first & then are taxed to pay it. If *B* after losing £50 could be taxed to pay that sum to *C*, the case would be in point; but this is not supposed. Besides, when an individual takes a bond it is generally optional with him whether to take the bond & wait for his money, or to commence a suit immediately & take the person or estate of the debtor. It is not so with the public creditors. They must take certificates or nothing, they must wait the public pleasure; there is no court to compel the public to do justice.

But were the case stated perfectly parrallel, it would not apply; for to draw *general* conclusions from *particular* premises is always bad logic, & in politics is often dangerous. It is true that if a creditor loses money by the delinquency of an individual, the law will not make provision for him. It would be wrong for the legislature to make special provision for every man who should sell his neighbor's note at a discount. It would introduce endless confusion & every species of mischief.

I acknowledge then, Sir, that in the case stated, *B*, the first creditor, who sells his bond at a discount has no remedy & ought to have none. But I humbly conceive that with respect to the creditors of the public the case is entirely different. In the *former* case public good requires that no special provision should be made for an individual; in the *latter* case, the same public good requires a special provision for the public creditors. A principle which may be *entirely just* in a particular case may be *totally wrong* when extended to the public. This, I conceive, Sir, to be one of the most important truths in legislation; & by not attending to it the legislatures of several States are deliberately plunging themselves & their constituents into confusion & wretchedness. I wish to be understood; that a *just* principle strictly pursued to a certain degree may become *false & pernicious*. Where the *right* ends & the *wrong* begins it may be difficult to determine; but the extremes are as obvious as night & day.

We can prove by mathematical demonstration that *A*, who can run twice as fast as *B*, shall never overtake *B*, who starts twenty yards before him; for while *A* runs ten yards *B* runs five, while *A* runs five yards *B* runs two & an half, & so on, till *A* runs a foot & *B* half a foot. Thus by dividing the distance *ad infinitum* as mathematicians do when they demonstrate the infinite divisibility of matter, we can prove that *A* will never overtake *B*. But two children of different powers would by an experiment overthrow this reasoning much sooner than Newton himself could go thro' the demonstration.

A paper may be painted with such a gradual transition of color that we can discover no point of distinction; & yet one end shall be perfectly *white* & the other entirely *black*. The changes shall be invisible, but the extremities a perfect contrast.

To make my meaning still more evident, permit

me, Sir, to produce an example directly in point from the proceedings of the Legislature of Massachusetts. It will be granted that when an individual settles upon land that belongs to another man he may be ousted by ejectment. How far the legality of the principle may be extended it is not possible to determine; but there is some point where it must stop. When five thousand men have settled upon land without right it is no longer a matter of doubt, it is as evident as white & black that the intruders ought to be quieted in their possessions. The legality of ejectment *would* in this case & *ought* to be suspended; because a special law to confirm an illegal title would produce less evil than a rigid adherence to the general principle of ousting trespassers. On what principle, Sir, but this did the Legislature of Massachusetts proceed in confirming the titles of certain settlers in the Province of Main? The Legislature acted with great prudence & policy; for the interest of the State required the measure.

Pennsylvania is now about to decide an important question on the same principle. By the decree of Trenton, the settlers at Wioming are found to be on land to which they had no right. They are numerous, they have had long possession, they are determined not to quit the land, the State therefore finds it policy to confirm their title, however illegal, & indemnify the proprietors in some other way. This would not be right in a *single* instance of trespass; but is entirely right with respect to a large *body* of trespassers. It is ludicrous to hear some people express their doubts respecting the right of the legislature to confirm their titles, because the constitution declares that a man shall not be deprived of his property without trial by jury. The laugh would however be turned into pity & resentment, if a blind zeal for legal principles should plunge the State into a civil war, cost fifteen thousand pounds, five hundred lives & four thousand valuable subjects.

Thus, Sir, I conceive the *greatest possible good* is the end of government, & that a principle which may be individually right & produce good may be publicly wrong & produce evil.

This truth applies most forcibly in the case of the domestic debt. The greatest number of public creditors have lost the greatest proportion of their demands, a small number of men have the evidences of the debt which cost them an inconsiderable part of the money promised on the face of the certificates. The men who have a demand in *justice* cannot make it in *law*, for the certificates are not in their hands. The public meant to do justice by its engagements, peculiar & unexpected circumstances have disappointed its intentions & turned the property into a channel where it ought not to flow; to pursue the words of the public promises would now produce an effect directly the reverse of what was designed; instead of doing *justice* it would do *injustice*, it would oppose the end of government by sacrificing the *greater* good to the *less*. The point is so clear to me that it appears needless to add another sentence upon the subject. I conceive the zeal for funding the debt to be totally mis-timed; instead of preserving *faith* it would destroy it by a high-handed act of treachery. It is the intention of the state which is always right that constitutes the rule of conduct with respect to promises; for a legislature cannot be justified in suffering its wise views to be thwarted by accidental circumstances; much less by its own delinquency.

The Legislature of Massachusetts tell the world in their late publications, "that the original creditors may now re-purchase their certificates with the same or a less sum of money than that they received for them." I am sorry to see such weak & fallacious reasoning in the declarations of that wise and respectable body. Did not the Legislature reflect that the same necessity which compelled the cred-

itors to sell at first now prevents their purchasing the certificates? Or did they suppose that the poorest of the public creditors have grown rich since the war?

But suppose they had money to purchase generally, they could not procure them at their present value. Hitherto the sellers have been the most numerous, the market has been glutted, & the price low. Reverse the case, let the creditors become purchasers & the demand would raise the value nearly to the face of the certificates.

I wish to be candid & respectful. I really believe the legislatures of Massachusetts & Pennsylvania to be actuated by the noblest motives in funding their debts; but I am confident that a re-consideration of the subject will make them view it in a very different light.

I will not multiply arguments; for your Excellency will anticipate me. I have just attempted to refute the reasoning of my opponents in two or three particulars, & am ready to combat them on any ground.

The question now is, what shall be done? I beg leave, Sir, to offer the following hints.

Let each State call in its certificates, at least where the depreciation has exceeded 25 per cent. Let new certificates be issued to the original holder, who produces his own certificates at the treasury. Let the same sum be reissued in certificates payable only to himself; to the speculator let there be issued the current value of the certificates with interest from the time of issuing; this would be a just compensation for his risque, use of money, &c. Or let him have 12 per cent interest to silence all complaint, — then issue to the original creditors, whose names & credit are on the certificates and the public books, the discount at which the certificates sold on their first issuing. The difference between the price of certificates on the first issuing & their present value is lost in the various transfers, it cannot be ascertained & the public might gain it on the proposed plan. Let the new

certificates by no means be transferrable ; for speculation is Pandora's box to a State.

As soon as this is done, let the State ascertain to every man his proportion of the whole debt on the principles of common taxation. The debt is in certificates, consequently is all in the country. Every man may pay his share as soon as he pleases. If he has certificates, let him pay them to the collector taking his receipt in full, which shall be his discharge of both principal & interest from the time when paid. If he has no certificates, he may apply to his neighbor who has, give him his bond or pay him in any way that shall be satisfactory, take a certificate, which, on being indorsed by the holder that he has received the full value, shall be receiveable by the collector, who shall give this purchaser a receipt in full. So far let the certificates be negociable, that when the endorsment specifies to whom they are sold, they shall be taken for *his* taxes only. Let the interest in specie be laid in the same tax-bill, & if a man does not pay the principal let the collector be empowered to take the interest at the end of each half year. This would be a strong inducement to the immediate discharge of the principal, & I am confident that were this plan adopted the debt would be cheerfully paid in two or three years. The greatest part would be sunk in six months.

This may be a difficult plan, but not impracticable. At any rate it is wisdom to attempt it ; for the people have an idea when they see most of their taxes absorbed in the metropolis & by a few men that their rulers are endeavoring to oppress them. An attempt to do justice would reconcile people to government.

I believe the foregoing plan may be executed so far as to be satisfactory ; for perfect justice cannot be expected. If some compromising measures cannot be fallen upon, I could almost wish to see the debt wiped off at once ; this would be wicked indeed, but would produce less evil than

the payment of it to the present holders by taxes upon the losing creditors.

If the public could raise or borrow money to buy in the certificates at their current discount, I should be happy; but it is not practicable, & if it were some consideration should be made to the original creditors. To lose 25 p^r cent on our demands is a tolerable evil; but four, six, or eight hundred pr. cent is *too much*.

I know not, Sir, what system can be adopted to do justice generally & quiet the clamors of the people. But of all the measures my imagination can frame, that of funding the debt in its present state appears to me the most unjust & mischievous.

Even aside of the principles of justice, a state should never suffer such a revolution of property as would be the inevitable consequence of funding, & paying the debt to the present holders.

The people of Massachusetts are charged with ignorance & a seditious disposition. But I never knew a people who had the means of information ultimately & generally wrong; nor did I ever know an insurrection raised without cause. The people of Massachusetts feel evils & they ascribe them in some measure to wrong causes. They enumerate a catalogue of grievances which are *all* trifles, except *one*—*the payment of interest in specie on the public securities*. This, I am warranted to say, is the *sole* grievance with the more thinking men in the opposition; for I have it from their own declaration. People here have an idea that the opposition consists of a rabble; but I know it consists of the substantial yeomanry of the country.

But *few* take arms, for they dread a civil war; the majority of the people are however with the insurgents in principle. They are *right* in their views of the domestic debt; altho' the insurgents are *wrong* to pursue violent measures.

One of the Eastern States, Connecticut, is decidedly opposed to the funding of the debt; some men charge them with a knavish disposition to cheat the public creditors. I ascribe their opposition to their good sense; altho' individuals may have bad views. I believe their opposition proceeds from a regard to public justice & have no doubt that in two years all America will come over to the sentiment.

The people in New Jersey have a plan in contemplation similar to what I have proposed. The Pennsylvanians begin to see their error & regret that they have funded the debt. It is believed in this city by the most discerning men that the funding act will be repealed. Their opinions are changing with incredible rapidity.

I have already given your Excellency to much trouble; but my anxiety in this critical state of public affairs must be my apology. I have only to add that in the present situation of the people of Massachusetts, I could wish to see a law passed to prevent a legal recovery of more than 25 pr. cent annually on private debts now due & which amount to six or eight pounds; and another law by which private credit would be prevented in the purchase of foreign articles. I could wish to see small debts contracted for articles of luxury put out of the protection of law.

The sentiments contained in this letter will be communicated to the public without my name; * and the sub-

* This intention was apparently not carried out. In a volume of *Essays and Fugitive Writings* by Noah Webster, published in 1790, which once belonged to George R. Minot, the historian of Shays's Rebellion, the substance of the argument appears as No. xxviii. In a prefatory note Webster, with a characteristic disregard of the recognized rules of spelling, writes: "The following iz part of an 'Essay on the Dets of the United States, written in 1787, but never before published. The question haz been ably discussed in Congress, and the proposition for a discrimination between original and purchasing holders of certificates, which I had started without the prospect of support, haz been maintained by very powerful arguments in our federal legislature. Az the question now appears to my mind, I should vote against the proposition, yet merely on the ground that from the manner the certificates were issued, it iz impossible to discriminate, without multiplying

ject will be more fully discussed in the public papers. If some thing be not done to satisfy the people, the Middle States will soon be in the situation of Massachusetts.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedient, most humble servant.

NOAH WEBSTER.

PHILADELPHIA, March 15th, 1787.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BOSTON, March 25, 1787.

HIS EXC^t BENJ FRANKLIN, ESQ^r,
Presid^t of y^e State of Pennsylvania.

SIR,—I have had the honour of your Excy's letters of the 6th & 12th instant, accompanied with the proceedings of y^e Council & G^l Assembly of Pensylv^a respecting y^e rebels agst this State; together with your proclamation for apprehending several of them.

I beg the favour you will signify to those honourable bodies the cordial thanks of this Commonwealth for their concurring with us in the object of our proclamation; and for the readiness with which it was done. At the same time please to assure them of a like readiness on our part to aid the execution of their measures upon any similar or other necessary occasion.

You will permit me to express my particular thanks to you for your kind congratulations on the success of our measures taken for the suppression of the insurrection in this State, and for your good wishes for its future tranquillity. With respect to y^e State of Pennsylvania, it enjoys so many benefits derived from institutions

the instances of hardship and injustice. But I hav no more dout, that legislatures hav a right to interfere, in certain extreme cases, than I hav of any reveled truth or intuitiv proposition; and were it possible to ascertain the original holders of certificates, I conceive our legislators could not have neglected provision for their losses, without violating their oaths, the constitution and public faith. The following extract iz published because I am desirous my opinion on this subject should be known and recorded." — Eds.

which originated with Doctor Franklin that I cannot wish it a greater happiness than to wish he may long be continued at the head of it in the character of its first magistrate. With great sincerity, and with all possible esteem, I have the honour to be,

Sir, yr. Excy's most ob^t & very hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BOSTON, May 14, 1787.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON,

Member of the Convention, &c., at Philadelphia.

SIR,—It must give the highest satisfaction to every friend of the Union that the same gentleman who bore so distinguished, so capital a part, in emancipating the United States is appointed a delegate in the intended Convention for perfecting their federal government. It is with great earnestness hoped that the plan of Confederation to which that respectable body may agree will be well formed for efficient government; and that it will be so far unobjectionable as to be approved by Congress and adopted by the several States. The Union may then answer the purpose of its institution, not only in regard to the internal government and mutual interests of the States themselves, but also in regard to foreign nations. Among the latter the Union might then again appear in a reputable light, and be of importance enough to secure to itself such commercial advantages as the situation and products of the several United States do entitle it to expect.

Major Erving,* a brother of M^r Bowdoin, will have the pleasure of delivering you this letter. He was formerly an officer in the British army, and has seen a great deal

* William Erving was born in Boston Sept. 8, 1734, graduated at Harvard College in 1753, and died unmarried at Jamaica Plain, May 27, 1791. He was the founder of the Erving Professorship of Chemistry in Harvard College. See Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. ii. pp. 269, 270. — Eds.

of service. He was particularly at the reduction of the Havannah, Louisburg, Quebec, &c., &c., and distinguished himself in all those campaigns: but quitted the service some years before the British ministry invaded their then colonies.

I have the pleasure to assure you he has always been a firm and zealous friend to the rights and liberties of America; and in that character, a character always acceptable to General Washington, I beg leave to introduce him to your Excellency. I have the honour to be, with the most perfect regard, dear Sir,

Yr. Excy's most obed^t & very hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THE GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK,
CONNECTICUT, AND VERMONT.*

BOSTON, May 16th, 1787.

SIR, — The enclosed are copies of letters received from Col^o Newell, commanding officer of one of our regiments in the county of Berkshire, and from General Ethan Allen of the State of Vermont, by which your Excellency will perceive that the rebels who fled from justice from this State into the States of Connecticut and Vermont are meditating measures for distressing the friends of government in the western counties and threatening destruction to the inhabitants who were opposed to them, and it appears that they are likely to be joined with some force from your State.

The assurances we have had from neighbouring sister States, that they will take effectual measures for apprehending or dispersing these disturbers of the common peace leaves no room to doubt of their friendly assistance in co-operating with us in effecting so desirable a purpose,

* Printed from a rough draught, with numerous corrections by Governor Bowdoin, and indorsed: "Written by Advice of Council." — Eds.

and preventing the mischief intended. They will be the more strongly induced to this from the consideration that the spirit of insurrection is infectious, and that if it be not perfectly subdued it will create perpetual disturbances in y^e States and may finally issue in anarchy and general confusion.

You will permit us to place a full reliance on the exertions of your Excellency for preventing these unhappy consequences and every movement that has a tendency to promote them.

I have y^e honour to be, with great esteem, Sir,
Yr. Excy's most ob^t hble. serv^t.

Governours of the States of New York,
of Connecticut & Vermont.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THE DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.*

BOSTON, May 16th, 1787.

THE HON. NATH^l GORHAM, RUFUS KING, NATHAN
DANE, Esq^{rs}, Delegates in Congress.

GENTLEMEN, — By the enclosed letters you'l perceive that the rebels who fled from justice into the States of Connecticut, Vermont, &c., are endeavouring to collect a force to disturb again the peace and quiet of this State, and in particular do threaten the friends of government in the western counties who most distinguished themselves in counteracting their enormities. Upon this subject is the enclosed letter from me to Governour Clinton of New York, which you will please to send to him.

If our troops had had liberty to pursue the rebels wherever they retreated they would before this time have been effectually quelled; but so long as they are permitted to take sanctuary in the neighbouring States they will be continually harassing this State: and the

* Printed from a rough draught, the greater part of which is in the handwriting of Governor Bowdoin. — Eds.

evil consequences of such permission if it be continued will probably extend to all the States.

Does it not then concern Congress to take or strongly recommend measures to be taken that will effectually prevent future insurrections not only in Massachusetts but in all the States? If you, gentlemen, should be of this opinion, you will use your influence for that purpose. The preventing of insurrections would be a proper subject for the consideration of the federal Convention now sitting at Philadelphia.

In one of your late letters you mentioned that the Commissioners appointed to run the jurisdiction line between this State & New York, would attend on that business in June or July; but we are not yet informed of the precise time. In another letter you mentioned that Congress had passed a resolution that all the sums which had been or might be disbursed by this government on account of the new corps of federal troops lately disbanded would be allowed out of the requisitions of 1784, 1785, or 1786, at the option of the government, & that the Resolution w^d be transmitted by the Secretary of Congress. The resolution however has not been yet received.

As this will probably be my last official letter to you, I cannot conclude it without bidding you adieu and expressing my best wishes for your happiness jointly and severally. With y^e most perfect regard, I have the honour to be, Gentⁿ, yr. most obed^t hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

RICHARD PRICE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

HACKNEY, Oct. 10th, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter dated in June last I did not receive till about a fortnight ago. I return you my best thanks for it, and I am truly sensible of the kind and

favourable attention with which you honour me. The approbation you express of my Sermons cannot but be particularly pleasing to me, and the observations you make on the reasonableness of candour and charity amidst our differences of opinion on religious subjects are certainly in the highest degree important as well as just. A due attention to them would produce universal peace in the Christian church. How happy would the State of Massachusetts be were it filled with men of your liberality and wisdom.

For my own part, when I look back on a life now pretty far spent, I derive particular satisfaction from the remembrance that by the best services I am capable of I have endeavoured to promote charity among Christians and the interest of general liberty and free discussion as in my opinion the best friends to truth and virtue and consequently to the happiness and improvem^t of the world.

I am now waiting with anxiety for an account of the result of the deliberations of the Convention of delegates at Philadelphia. May God direct them to such a plan of federal governm^t as shall be most conducive to the peace and dignity of the United States, and give a demonstration to the world of the happy effects of the American Revolution.

We have here been much alarmed by the apprehension of a war with France. Should this calamity come upon us so soon after the late war, it will be wonderful if a convulsion is not produced among us. The pretence for it is a point of honour between us and the Stadholder, and a supposed necessity of supporting him agst his constituents in order to detach Holland from France and to get it into the scale of this country. I am afraid indeed that our ministers in their late negotiations have rely'd too much on the weakness and embarrassm^{ts} of France. A war is begun between Russia and Turkey, and a gen-

eral fermentation seems to be prevailing thro' Europe. What events it may *immediately* produce God only knows; but *in the end* all will, I doubt not, work for good.

In a packet w^{ch} I sent in August last to D^r Wigglesworth I enclosed some copies of a discourse w^{ch} I deliver'd to the supporters of a new academical institution lately established here. One of these copies I desired to be convey'd to you. I now send another and beg the favour of you to convey it to D^r Lathrop with my respects. I have also inclosed in the packet the Appendix to a new edition lately publish'd of my Sermons. I had the pleasure of being acquainted with M^r and M^{rs} Temple when they were in London. Should you think it worth while, deliver my kind compliments to them when you happen to see them or to write to them.

Wishing you, dear S^r, every comfort that a valuable life can be bless'd with, I am, with great regard,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

RICH^d PRICE.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PHILAD^a, May 31, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — I received your favours by Mess^{rs} Gore, Hilliard, and Lee, with whose conversation I was much pleased, and wish'd for more of it; but their stay with us was too short. Whenever you recommend any of your friends to me you oblige me.

I want to know whether your Philosophical Society receiv'd the second volume of our Transactions. I sent it, but never heard of its arriving. If it miscarried I will send another.

Has your Society among its books the French work *sur les Arts & les Metiers*? It is voluminous, well executed, and may be useful in our country. I have be-

queath'd it them in my will ; but if they have it already I will substitute some thing else.

Our ancient correspondence us'd to have something philosophical in it. As you are now more free from public cares, and I expect to be so in a few months, why may we not resume that kind of correspondence ? Our much regretted friend Winthrop* once made me the compliment that I was good at starting game for philosophers. Let me try if I can start a little for you.

Has the question, How came the earth by its magnetism ever been consider'd ?

Is it likely that *iron ore* immediately existed when this globe was first form'd, or may it not rather be suppos'd a gradual production of time ?

If the earth is at present magnetical in virtue of the masses of iron ore contain'd in it, might not some ages pass before it had magnetic polarity ?

Since iron ore may exist without that polarity, and by being plac'd in certain circumstances may obtain it from an external cause, is it not possible that the earth receiv'd its magnetism from some such cause ?

In short, may not a magnetic power exist throughout our system, perhaps thro' all systems, so that if men could make a voyage in the starry regions a compass might be of use ? And may not such universal magnetism with its uniform direction be serviceable in keeping the diurnal revolution of a planet more steady to the same axis ?

Lastly, as the poles of magnets may be changed by the presence of stronger magnets, might not in ancient times the near passing of some large comet of greater magnetic power than this globe of ours have been a means of changing its poles, and thereby wracking and deranging its surface, placing in different regions the effect of cen-

* Professor John Winthrop of Harvard College. — Eds.

trifugal force, so as to raise the waters of the sea in some while they were depress'd in others?

Let me add another question or two, not relating indeed to magnetism, but, however, to the theory of the earth.

Is not the finding of great quantities of shells and bones of animals (natural to hot climates), in the cold ones of our present world, some proof that its poles have been changed?

Is not the supposition that the poles have been changed the easiest way of accounting for the deluge by getting rid of the old difficulty how to dispose of its waters after it was over; since if the poles were again to be changed and plac'd in the present equator the sea would fall there about 15 miles in height, and rise as much in the present polar regions, and the effect would be proportionable if the new poles were plac'd any where between the present and the equator?

Does not the apparent wrack of the surface of this globe, thrown up into long ridges of mountains with strata in various positions, make it probable that its internal mass is a fluid, but a fluid so dense as to float the heaviest of our substances? Do we know the limit of condensation air is capable of? Supposing it to grow denser *within* the surface, in the same proportion nearly as we find it does *without*, at what depth may it be equal in density with gold?

Can we easily conceive how the strata of the earth could have been so derang'd if it had not been a mere shell supported by a heavier fluid? Would not such a suppos'd internal fluid globe be immediately sensible of a change in the situation of the earth's axis, alter its form, and thereby burst the shell & throw up parts of it above the rest; as if we could alter the position of the fluid contain'd in the shell of an egg & place its longest diameter where the shortest now is, the shell must break;

but would be much harder to break if the whole internal substance were as solid and hard as the shell?

Might not a wave by any means rais'd in this suppos'd internal ocean of extreamly dense fluid raise in some degree as it passes the present shell of incumbent earth, and break it in some places, as in earthquakes? And may not the progress of such wave and the disorders it occasions among the solids of the shell, account for the rumbling sound being first heard at a distance, augmenting as it approaches, and gradually dying away as it proceeds; a circumstance observ'd by the inhabitants of South America in their last great earthquake, that noise coming from a place some degrees north of Lima, and being trac'd by enquiry quite down to Buenos Ayres, proceeding regularly from north to south at the rate of [blank] leagues p minute, as I was inform'd by a very ingenious Peruvian whom I met with at Paris.

I am ever, my very dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately.

B. FRANKLIN.

HON^{BLE} JAS BOWDOIN, Esq^R.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NEW YORK, May 9th, 1789.

SIR, — Since my arrival in this place I have been honored with your letters of the 18th of Feb^y and 24th of April.

To meet the congratulations and assurances of support from those characters whose opinions I revere will be of no small service in enabling me to overcome the diffidence which I have in my own abilities to execute properly the important and untried task which my country has assigned me.

No part of my duty will be more delicate and, in many instances, more displeasing than that of nominat-

ing or appointing persons to offices. It will undoubtedly often happen that there will be several candidates for the same office whose pretensions, abilities, and integrity may be nearly equal, and who will come forward so equally supported in every respect as almost to require the aid of supernatural intuition to fix upon the right. I shall, however, in all events have the satisfaction to reflect that I entered upon my administration unconfined by a single engagement, uninfluenced by any ties of blood or friendship, and with the best intentions and fullest determination to nominate to office those persons only, who upon every consideration were the most deserving, and who would probably execute their several functions to the interest and credit of the American Union,—if such characters could be found by my exploring every avenue of information respecting their merits and pretensions that it was in my power to obtain.

With great respect & esteem, I am, Sir,

Your most obed^t h^{ble} serv^t.

G. WASHINGTON.

THE HON^{BLE} JAMES BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO CHARLES P. LAYARD.

BOSTON, COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
May 10th, 1789.

SIR, — By Captain Scott, who arrived here yesterday from London, I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 31st of July last, informing me of my election as a member of the Royal Society, and enclosing the diploma. I embrace this first opportunity of expressing the high sense I have of the distinguished honour conferred upon me by that most illustrious body; and beg the favour you will communicate it to them, together with my very grateful acknowledgments for the honour conferred.

At the same time you will please to accept my thanks for the polite manner in which you have given me the notice of it.

With profound veneration for the Royal Society, and great respect for their Secretary, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obed^t hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

THE REV^d CHARLES PETER LAYARD, D.D., one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society at their apartments, Somerset Place, Strand. London.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO CHARLES P. LAYARD.

BOSTON, June 4, 1789.

REV^d DOCTOR LAYARD,
Sec^y of y^e Royal Society, London.

REV^d SIR, — I had the honour of writing to you y^e 10th ultimo; and by M^r Joseph Pope now send a duplicate. It gives me pleasure that I have this opportunity of informing you that M^r Pope is a man of great ingenuity in the mechanical way. Besides other proofs of it he has lately constructed an orrery, which exhibits upon an enlarged scale the planetary motions within our solar system. It is now the property of the neighbouring University at Cambridge, having been purchased for about £350 sterling, and far surpasses any thing of that kind in America. As M^r Pope is going to England it is his wish to render himself useful to gentlemen that may have occasion to employ him in the line of his business; and I believe it is in his power to give them entire satisfaction. Not only his ingenuity but the sterling honesty of the man will recommend him.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect regard,
Rev^d Sir,

Yr. most obed^t & very hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO JOHN TEMPLE.

BOSTON, Oct^o 10, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — I have had the pleasure of your letters of the 12th & 28th September. The former by Maj^r Shaw about ten days ago, just as I was setting out on a journey, and the latter p^r M^r Thacher I received on my return yesterday. It made us happy to know that you & Betsy & y^e young folks had arrived safe at N. York, though the passage was rough & uncomfortable; and we hope her sea-sickness & fatigue, w^{ch} she bore with so much fortitude, have been of service to her. It gave us particular pleasure to learn that your health was better, and there is no room to doubt of its complete restoration, if you keep up y^r spirits, exercise, &c. You judged perfectly right in inoculating your g^d daughter; and we rejoice with you, that she has happily got through the small pox.

By the character & situation of D^r Dwight, I think you could not have chosen a better instructor for your son James; and I hope he will give you reason to think so by his proficience and good conduct.

From y^e enquiries contained in y^e Duke of Leeds's letter of the 30th of June, I am of opinion with you, that y^e British ministry are somewhat alarmed at the encreasing growth of y^e manufactures of the United States. The general statement of it, represented in your answer to y^e Duke's letter, is I believe just, so far as it extends. Several sorts of manufactures going on in this State may be added to those mentioned in your letter: as, wool & cotton cards, women's shoes, nails, &c. With respect to the first, more than one thousand dozen of wool cards are made, as I am informed, in this town monthly; and they are made in other towns also. Our country people are all supplied with them, and a considerable quantity is exported. With respect to y^e shoes, in y^e town of Lyn

only are made more than 170 thousand pair of wom^a shoes (besides their leather shoes) annually, most of w^{ch} are sent to y^e other States: and with respect to nails they are made every where, and have effectually stopt y^e importation of them: considerable quantities being exported. I do not mention potash, pearl ash, & sundry other manufactures, as they are probably not meant to be included in y^e answer to y^e enquiries.

In a year or two, the returns made to Congress by their executive officers will probably furnish y^e means of a full answer to most of those enquiries; and until those returns can be applied to, any answer must be imperfect.

The Revolution in France is a most extraordinary one; and from it will result very important consequences, some of which it may be conjectured will not be very advantageous to G. Britain; but however that may be, if it should terminate in a government founded on just principles of liberty, it will be the era of political happiness to the French nation.

M^{rs} Bowdoin sends her most affectionate regards to you and her dear daughter, with y^e young gentry; in which she is with great cordiality joined by, dear Sir,

Yr. most ob^t hble. serv.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NEW YORK, 25th June, 1790.

(Friday.)

DEAR SIR, — I am favoured with your letter of the 15th, mentioning M^r John Erving & M^r Samuel Waldo as candidates for offices under the federal government. Whether the assumption will take place or not this session is at present problematical, altho I think the assumptionists have the power of attaining the object; but the misfortune is that some of them are influenced

by the Pennsylvanians, all of whom, even those who are firmly attached to the assumption, will hazard it & every thing else of the highest importance to the Union for the paltry object of the temporary residence of Congress. The Rhode Island Senators are arrived & the questions respecting both the permanent & temporary residence are to be agitated on Monday next in the Senate. Upon the issue of these matters we shall be able to form some judgment of what will be the fate of the State debts, & should an opportunity offer of promoting your wishes respecting your nephews, I shall be very happy in co-operating in the measures. The House consists of two classes, the funders & anti-funders; & the former are subdivided into assumptionists & anti-assumptionists. Part of the assumptionists have formed a junction with the anti-funders & have thrown out the revenue bill, which has puzzled the residue of the funders, some of whom would be also for the assumption had not the residence of Congress been blended therewth. Since the bill was rejected I have seen the Secretary of the Treasury & find he is pleased with the measure & thinks it a good stroke of policy. I have only time to assure you that, with great esteem & respect,

I remain, dear Sir, your most obed^t & very hum. ser^t.

E. GERRY.

THE HONBLE. M^r BOWDOIN.

MERCY WARREN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

SIR, — My confidence in your friendship & my respect for your judgment leads me to submit to your perusal a few pieces designed for publication, if not better advised by so good a judge. I feel myself very diffident, though encouraged by my friends, to embark on the sea of public opinion; but I yet shrink at the idea & keep

* For notice of Mrs. Warren, see 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. p. 397 note.

my mind open to the strictest scrutiny of friendship & candor. I might shew them to many who would criticise, to others who might flatter, the one without friendship & the other without sincerity; but your opinion, Sir, which I am confident will be the result of both, will lead me readily to suppress any of them which you may think will neither be pleasing to the public eye or honourary to me, who would not have presumed this interruption did she not feel more assured of your friendship than that of any other gentleman of literature & taste in this capital. With respect and esteem

I am, Sir, your most obedient

M. WARREN.

My best compliments to M^{rs} Bowdoin.

N. BOSTON SQUARE, June 28th, 1790.

As soon as M^r Bowdoin's leisure will permit, he will return the papers with his observations to his obliged friend, &c.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO MERCY WARREN.

M^r Bowdoin presents his most respectful compliments to M^{rs} Warren, and acquaints her that in y^e afternoon or tomorrow morning he is to proceed on a journey into Connecticut & to y^e western parts of Massachusetts, where he will be happy to execute any of M^{rs} Warren's commands. He thinks himself very unfortunate that he is obliged to forego the pleasure of reading the manuscript poems which accompanied her polite billet of this morning. With great reluctance he now returns them; but promises himself no small entertainment upon their publication, which he hopes will soon take place; being assured it will be no discredit to American genius.

M^{rs} Bowdoin with her best compliments hopes for the pleasure of seeing M^{rs} Warren.

Monday, June 28th.

JAMES BOWDOIN* TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.†

BOSTON, October 1st, 1792.

MY LORD,—The very little acquaintance we had at Christ Church, although Gentlemen Commoners of the same College, would have hardly justified, in my own estimation, the liberty I now take in writing you, had not Sir Jn^o Temple satisfied me of your Lordship's recollection of me by presenting me with your compliments at your Lordship's request. Be assured, my Lord, the circumstance was pleasing to me, and I frequently thôt of grounding a correspondence upon it, to which I have been frequently urged by Sir John.

The unexpected situation into which England and this country have been thrown, arising out of the late Revolution, must necessarily excite a curiosity to be conversant with the political movements w^{ch} do or may agitate the two countries. Although I have much to expect, and but little to bestow, still I know too much of the policy of the English government to think that a gentleman elevated by rank, fortune, and political character can be indifferent to the force and effect of the measures of the government w^{ch} so eminently distinguishes him, or to those objects and pursuits w^{ch} deter-

* James Bowdoin, the Governor, died Nov. 6, 1790. After his death his only son, the third James Bowdoin, subsequently minister to Spain, dropped the affix "Junior." He died Oct. 11, 1811, and with him the male line of descent became extinct, though the name Bowdoin was afterward borne by various descendants of his only sister, Lady Temple. — Eds.

† George Nugent-Temple Grenville, first Marquis of Buckingham, was the second son of George Grenville, and was born June 17, 1753. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1774, and took an active part in the debates. Five years later he succeeded his uncle Richard as Earl Temple, and obtained the royal license "to take the names and arms of Nugent and Temple in addition to his own." In 1782 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, an office which he held for only a few months, until the downfall of the Shelburne ministry. At the time of the Coalition ministry he was conspicuous among the "King's friends," and after the triumph of Pitt he was created Marquis of Buckingham. A few years later he was again made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; but resigned in less than two years. He died at Stowe Feb. 11, 1813. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxiii. pp. 117-119. — Eds.

mine their action upon the governments such measures are meant to have an influence.

Upon the supposition that a correspondence upon the politics of the two countries might not be disagreeable to your Lordship, I avail myself of the opportunity of my nephew, Mr Grenville Temple, of laying its first foundation.

To keep up a good understanding between this country and Great Britain upon principles of reciprocity and mutual advantage has ever been my wish; to look for a connexion upon other terms would be as impolittick as unjust; unjust as it would bestow unequal advantages, and impolittick as such a connexion would be only of short continuance. For whatever may be pretended to the contrary, there is no doubt but the commercial and political interests of this country, if not already, will shortly be as well understood as those of any of the European powers. I take it for granted that the knowledge of Great Britain with respect to its foreign connexions is perfectly understood; although in some instances of it with respect to this country some have been led to doubt it. It is but justice however to say that the goodness and cheapness of the English fabricks, the honesty and good faith of English merchants have given Great Britain a deserved pre-eminence in the commerce of this country. How long this superiority will remain is to be determined by the future wisdom, justice, and moderation of the two countries. Great Britain should recollect that y^e people of the United States are her best customers for her manufactures. An open liberal policy looking beyond the advantages of the moment would probably secure to her a permanent influence in the politics and commerce of this country.

Mr Grenville Temple, the bearer of this letter, is a young gentleman of understanding and information, has been bred to the bar, and by the short visit he has

lately paid his friends in this country, will be able to give your Lordship much local information. He returns to Engl^d with a view of taking passage for Calcutta in India, to follow his profession: a few lines from your Lordship to some of your Lordship's friends in India would render an eminent service to a deserving and intelligent young gentleman. Would your Lordship permit me to hope for this favour to my nephew, in whose welfare I feel myself interested; whilst I can assure your Lordship that his gratitude, prudence, and good understanding will not discredit your patronage.

Be assured, my Lord, of the high respect and esteem with which I subscribe myself, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obed^t servant.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

TO THE MOST HONOURABLE GEORGE GRENVILLE, ESQ^R,
MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM, &^a.

GEORGE HAMMOND TO THE NAVAL COMMANDER AT
HALIFAX.*

[Copy.]

PHILADELPHIA, 27 April, 1793.

SIR, — I think it my duty to communicate to you by the most expeditious means in my power the following intelligence, and it will remain with you to determine on the measures that may appear the most efficacious for giving immediate protection to the commerce and property of his Majesty's subjects in these seas.

On the 9th cur^t the French frigate *Ambuscade* arrived at Charleston from Rochefort in France, having on board

* George Hammond was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1763, and at the age of twenty went to Paris as secretary to David Hartley, then negotiating the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States. Subsequently he served as chargé d'affaires at Vienna, Copenhagen, and Madrid; and in 1791 he was made minister plenipotentiary to the United States. He returned to England in 1795. He finally retired from public life in 1828, and died in London April 23, 1853, at the age of ninety. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxiv. pp. 241, 242. — Eds.

Mr Genêt, the new French minister to the United States. In the course of her voyage to Charleston the Ambuscade captured two British brigs. After remaining some days at Charleston, she sailed from thence, and on Wednesday evening last, the 24th, appeared off Cape Henlopen, near to which she took the British brig Little Sarah, from this port to Jamaica. On the following morning she captured in Delaware Bay the British ship Grange bound to Liverpool. The Ambuscade is now at Chester in the Delaware, about fifteen miles from hence, and is expected here every hour with her prizes. The Ambuscade is pierced for 36 guns, but mounts 32 only. She is commanded by a Captain Bompert, and carries two hundred and fifty men. Exclusive of this vessel a pilot was about a week ago put on board another French armed ship, but of what force I have not been able as yet to ascertain. It is also currently reported here that a third French armed vessel is now hovering upon these coasts.

As the captures made in the Delaware are unquestionably illegal, being contrary to the law of nations, I shall as soon as the prizes arrive demand their restoration. The discussion consequent upon this demand will most probably detain the Ambuscade here for some days at least. And as the captain's instructions from the French Executive Council are to cruize along the American coasts, there can, I think, exist little doubt that she will continue in the pursuit of that object for some time longer, previous to either her return to France or to her proceeding to the West Indies.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obed^t hum^{le} servt.

GEO. HAMMOND.

TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS OF WAR,
STATIONED IN HALIFAX.

GEORGE HAMMOND TO JOHN TEMPLE.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th April, 1793.

4 o'clock, P. M.

SIR, — I should have transmitted to you the enclosed interesting intelligence last night, had I not waited to ascertain precisely the fact of the Ambuscade's being in the river. She will, I think, be detained so long here that I hope my information to Halifax will arrive in time to prevent her further depredations being carried to any considerable extent. As I understand from the master of a vessel who left Halifax the 12th cur^t that the frigates Winchelsea & Hussar were not to sail from thence until the arrival of the relief from England consisting of the Centurion of fifty guns and some frigates.

I am so much pressed for time that I can only send you a copy of my letter to the commanding naval officer on the Halifax station. I shall be much obliged to you if you will forward the *original* immediately by a pilot boat to Halifax. You will make such uses of the information I now transmit to you as may appear to you, Sir, the best calculated for preventing any British vessels sailing from New York for some days to come at least. You will also be so kind as to accompany my letter to the officer at Halifax with any information on the subject which you yourself may have received,

The purport of the annexed letter to Mackaness is to delay the departure of the packet, as I shall detain her until the conclusion of my negociations with this government for procuring the restoration of the prizes taken in the Delaware in defiance of the rights of neutral nations.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

GEO. HAMMOND.

P. S. I send this by express, but under cover to a private person at New York, in order to obviate any sus-

picion which might arise from my letter being addressed immediately to yourself. Excuse the haste under which this has been written.

G. H.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE, BART, &c., &c., &c.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO LADY TEMPLE.

DORCHESTER, Oct^r 31st, 1793.

MY DEAR SISTER, — I embrace y^e first leisure opp^{ty} of answering your affectionate letter by Cap^t Barnard, and to thank you for your care in sending me the trees & strawberry roots w^{ch} I have rec^d. James & Augusta will doubtless be arrived before this reaches you, who will acquaint you with y^e local circumstances of your mother's & my family.

I observe Sir Jn^o has wrote for & expects leave of absence to go to Engl^d, that it is not yet rec^d, and I am apprehensive from y^e present state of affairs in Europe that he will hardly obtain it. In a time of war, when y^e object of contention is principles of government originally founded on the prospect of assimilating y^e interests and politics of France with those of this country, to rival y^e commerce of England by infusing into a new order of things y^e spirit of commerce, & to lay its foundation by reforming those feudatory claims w^{ch} were its principal impediment. The French Revolution had its origin in y^e rivalry between France & Engl^d. The trade of this country, w^{ch} was & is a source of so much profit, advantage, & naval strength to G. Britain, was of sufficient importance to engage y^e attention of principal characters in France to reform the military principles of their government^t, and to accommodate it to y^e more effectual admission of commerce. The Marquis de la Fayette and all y^e thinking part of y^e principal French officers who were here in y^e course of our Revolution used to lament

y^e insufficiency of their governm^t to y^e spirit & principles of commerce, thrô w^{ch} alone, as they used to say, France could hope to rival G. B. & to obtain y^e superiority in Europe her natural advantages entitled her. These officers gave y^e first motives to y^e French Revolution, w^{ch} in y^e course of it, by running far ahead of the sentiments and opinions w^{ch} excited it, has swept away in its consequences the very characters which first promoted a reform & were desirous that France sh^d, like Engl^d, become a mixed monarchy.

Should the French Revolution succeed, w^{ch} it w^d seem cannot be wholly prevented, France will probably become a much greater maritime & commercial power than ever she has yet been, in which case there is no reason why she sh^d not have a great proportion of y^e American commerce. She possesses the secrets of manufactures, and abounds in people who labour at a cheaper price than in England, and it may not be long after y^e present cruel contest before she will have merchants, manufacturers, & manufactures w^{ch} will vie with those of G. B. That commerce delights in free governm^{ts} & most commonly takes her residence in such situations is an acknowledged truth. If France succeeds in y^e establishment of a free, efficient government, Engl^d will be compelled to either relinquish her commerce or her constitution of governm^t, as I conceive that upon the freedom of y^e contending governm^{ts} stands y^e direction of y^e American commerce & the superiority w^{ch} will follow as a necessary consequence. These observations somewhat outrées to a female correspondent are made with a view of impressing her with an idea of the importance of the U. S. in their present situation & of the interest y^e British minister will take in all measures in this country w^{ch} respect y^e present contest; y^e vigilance of the English public officers in this country will be strictly required, and of course all hopes of leave of absence to Sir Jn^o appear to me visionary.

As connected with this opinion, I understand by James that Grenville has given one of a like kind, viz., that the English minister w^d not probably allow of Sir Jn^o's absence from his office at this critical period, & advises him to relinquish it, to seek a debt to y^e late M^r Nelson, whose heir Sir Jn^o is, to a demand agst y^e governm^t of £60,000 sterlg. I know not y^e justice of the demand any more than y^e disposition of y^e minister to discharge antiquated claims; but however forward his inclination thereto, yet y^e multiplied embarrassments of war, in the present scarcity of money in Engl^d, will make it very uncertain as to the obtaining it, for w^{ch} reason I sh^d suppose it bad policy to relinquish an office w^{ch} I understand promises half pay for life in case of being superceeded; a place of £1500 p an^m is hard to be procured, and it requires good interest by friends, pretensions, & exertions to obtain it. As time creeps on age steals upon our faculties & powers, of course upon our exertions, and very few are able to engage in pursuits at sixty w^{ch} they were well calculated to undertake at forty. The prudence and caution of experience, without very bright & tempting prospects, will lead us not to relinquish a certainty for an uncertainty. Presently perhaps things in England may be in that state of confusion as may make a retreat eligible. The principles of y^e French Revolution may take footing there. The disaffected, y^e disappointed, y^e ambitious, y^e distrest, the well wishers to a revolution make a strong party in every government, & may become y^e predominating one in England. All expectations from an old w^d in that case be swallowed up in a new order of things, and offices & antiquated claims upon governm^{ts} might meet y^e fate of y^e sponge. A revolutionary spirit has gone forth; where it will stop, or how it will be directed; what further inroads it will make upon y^e established governm^{ts} of Europe time will unfold; but prudence seems to require that you sh^d not

unnecessarily remove yourselves from your present eligible situation to engage in undertakings of perplexity & uncertainty w^{ch} must be probably begun by the sacrifice of an important office.

By your letters to M^{rs} Winthrop you request the opinion of your friends, particularly mine, in regard to James, relative to his present pursuits and future prospects ; how far his pursuits are consistent with his future prospects, or what ought to be his or your expectations in regard to them, it is difficult to say. His education, inclination, & habits are to determine these things. His education, if he attends to it, ought to qualify him for one of y^e learned professions, w^{ch} if his inclination favours it, his habits, manners, & studies sh^d be directed to it. But there is such a connexion between all y^e learned professions that success in any of them very much depends upon a well directed collegiate education in w^{ch} the rudiments of the sciences are to be deeply laid, in order to the making a distinguished figure in any of them. These rudiments, however, cannot be obtained without industry & close application to study. A favourable opp^{ty} now presents itself, w^{ch} if rightly improved must be of y^e highest importance to him, whether he pursues either of the learned professions or not ; but w^{ch} if neglected must be a perpetual source of mortification to him. Young men who go to college should have before them y^e expectation of a learned profession, and not be suffered to justify their inattention to study by thinking they will take to other pursuits. For in such cases the mind is left without an object, and is thereby deprived of a necessary stimulus to exertion. But even this will prove a poor apology to their friends or to their own minds for their neglect and idleness. The opp^{ty} that James now has is a trial of his firmness and determination to improve himself, and it will be happy for him if he shall have no occasion to reproach himself hereafter. My own negligence for the

first two years I was at college has occasioned me more uneasiness than all the other circumstances of my life. To avoid such uneasiness, his own reproaches and those of his friends, James sh^d endeavour to improve his present opp^{ty} in the best manner. Dr. Johnston's * qualifications as a scholar, as a distinguished professional character, and a statesman, must bestow advantages w^{ch} few situations afford ; y^e path of the D^r's literary acquisitions, matured by his long experience & practice, must be almost invaluable to a young man who has views to the bar. If James's application and improvement sh^d entitle him to the esteem and good offices of the worthy D^r, he will lead him to such objects & pursuits in regard to the study of the law as must be highly advantageous to him.

By these observations you may infer that I consider y^e bar to be y^e most eligible employment for him. The business of a lawyer requires a general knowledge of the sciences, *close application*, and a good natural genius. The last James has ; a good voice & y^e principal requisites of a public speaker he also possesses. His present acquirements, his industry, his love of books, his resolution & firmness to prosecute the studies of an ordinary profession to acquire fame in it, & thereby to introduce himself at a proper season into public employments, must be referred to y^e opinions of those who are better acquainted with him than I am. It is however my idea that if James w^d resolutely pursue what I think he has capacity to obtain, he might in a few years become a man of importance & independence ; for no one in my view is more important or can be justly considered more independent than he who has good professional, practical talents. The path to wealth, honour, & respect lies strait before him, and there is nothing wanting but resolution & y^e first efforts to obtain what habit will soon render easy, familiar

* William Samuel Johnson, President of Columbia College, New York. — EDS.

& agreeable. Young men are accountable for, and will be judged by, their habits. A plan of future life therefore sh^d be consulted with and pointed out to him; to be founded in reason, to be pursued with resolution, and to be rendered habitual. Order & method in the distribution of time must be brôt in aid of such a plan, w^{ch} should assign to business & amusement their proper places. As I have a regard for James, I sh^d like to hear the event of a serious consultation of his friends upon the plan of his future life, grounded upon his own matured reflections & their previous considerations, that by this ceremony he may be brôt to think it what it really is, an object y^e most interesting to him. That his plan of future life may not be less a benefit to himself than useful to others; not less honourable than pleasing to his friends, nor less calculated to improve his own importance, wealth, & understanding than hereafter to reward his virtue is my sincere wish.*

So much of my letter has been taken up with James that I have scarcely time or room to acquaint you with y^e esteem & regard we entertain for Augusta.† As we have had more of the pleasure of her company upon this than upon any previous visit, her amiable and engaging behaviour has stamp^t upon us the most agreeable impressions. I think her deserving the affection & esteem of all her friends, particularly of her parents, as her apprehensions & anxieties for their safety & welfare seemed to shut out enjoyment, & to make a greater impression upon her than upon any other person I ever knew of her age. Sensibility, good sense, and discernment distinguish her, except in one point, agst w^{ch} she ought to be cautioned. The fear of growing fat induces her to make free

* James B. Temple, second son of Sir John Temple, was born June 7, 1776, graduated at Columbia College in 1795, entered the British army, afterward assumed the name of Bowdoin, and died Oct. 31, 1842. See Catalogue of Columbia College; New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. x. pp. 76, 78. — Eds.

† Augusta, youngest child of Sir John Temple, was born about 1780, married William L. Palmer, and died Aug. 18, 1852. — Eds.

with magnætia, acids, and other things of the kind w^{ch} will not produce the effect for w^{ch} she uses them, but must inevitably destroy her health. Augusta will undoubtedly make an engaging, pretty woman if she does not tamper with things of the kind above mentioned. Withhold this part of my letter from her.

Inclosed you have Grenville's letter to me, w^{ch} I send you for your reading. The Marquis of Buckingham it seems puts the great man upon me & upon him. It is y^e first, & it shall be y^e last, letter I shall write him. It appears to me titles & fortune ill become a man who suffers empty pride to take hold of him. The time is fast approaching when meer haughty pretensions without something more than titles to support them will rather excite the ridicule & contempt than the honour & respect of mankind.

Remember me affectionately to Sir Jn^o, to James & Augusta, & believe me most sincerely yours.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

M^{rs} B. presents her best regards, & means to write to you by the first opp^{ty}.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THE OVERSEERS OF BOWDOIN
COLLEGE.

BOSTON, June 27th, 1794.

TO THE OVERSEERS & CORPORATION OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

GENTLEMEN, — The General Court having established a public seminary of learning in the District of Maine, for the purpose of diffusing literature and useful knowledge, whereby it may be reasonably expected that the seeds of science, deeply sown in the natural genius of its inhabitants, will soon be seen to blossom, to fructify, and to contribute to the general stock of scientific information in the United States, you, Gentlemen, being selected

for the honourable purpose of laying the first foundation of an institution upon the prosperity of which the future character, dignity, and prosperity of the District of Maine will materially depend ; however important the commission, arduous the undertaking, or difficult the task, I have no doubt of your prudence, wisdom, and capacity to fullfill the trust committed to you ; you'll permit me, however, to suggest that the honourable testimonial of respect paid in the establishment to the name, the character, the talents, and virtues of my late father, must attach me in a peculiar degree to an institution in y^e success of w^{ch} I feel myself deeply interested.

Bowdoin College shall receive the feeble aid of my endeavours to promote its usefulness, interest, and welfare, and as a first step to the design, suffer me to say that as soon as you shall signify your acceptance by the votes of your respective bodies of the sum of one thousand dollars in specie, and of one thousand acres of land situated in the town of Bowdoin, to be disposed of in such way and manner as you shall deem best to subserve the designs of the institution, I stand ready to pay the said sum to whomsoever you shall direct to receive it, and to make y^e necessary conveyance of the land as aforesaid.

Wishing you every success in the important trust committed to you, I have the honour, to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obed^t & very hble. serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

COMMITTEE OF THE OVERSEERS OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE
TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

HON'BLE JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq.

PORTLAND, December 27th, 1794.

SIR, — The Board of Overseers of Bowdoin College have the honor and satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of June last. On their

behalf we now transmit to you an attested copy of their vote by which they have accepted your free and generous donation, and appointed the Hon'ble David Mitchell, Esqr., to receive it.

As the only testimonial of their gratitude which is in their power to present we are charged to express to you their sincerest acknowledgements, both for the donation itself and the intimation of your future design to promote the usefulness of the institution.

We are happy, Sir, in the reflection that you have thus become an early and liberal patron to Bowdoin College. This will animate those who shall from time to time have the superintendency and management of it to co-operate with you, as far as their feeble efforts can extend, in your laudable intention to contribute to its character and dignity; and we anticipate with a high degree of confidence that under a government which depends upon the spread of knowledge for its support, the learned and wealthy part of the community will bestow upon it *their* smiles & patronage, so that it may soon and lastingly flourish under a name which has been so justly dear and valuable to the friends of humanity & science. We rejoice that with this name the College has been honoured, and it affords us additional pleasure to reflect that its patron is clothed with the mantle of his father's virtues.

We devoutly wish him every earthly felicity and an immortality in that happy place where charity will receive its complete reward.

We have the honor to be, Sir, with profound respect,

Your most hble. serv^{ts}.

DAN'L DAVIS,	} A Committee of the	
SAM. FREEMAN,		} Board of Overseers
ELIJAH KELLOGG,		

GEORGE ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

LONDON, the 1st of Aug^t, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 15th of March, by your nephew M^r Ja^s B. Temple. This of itself wou'd entitle him to my particular attentions, but this added to the consideration of his other valuable connections and his own merits give him an undoubted claim to my friendship & attachment. Be assured that I shall pay him every requisite friendly attention in my power. He appears to me to be a young man of the best hopes, very easy & pleasant in his temper, and by all that I can observe very discreet in the choice of his company, and well regulated in his general conduct. A few weeks ago he had expectations of purchasing a cornecy in the Dragoon Guards quarter'd in Ireland at upw^{ds} of £500, but having been disappointed in this object, he has purchas'd an ensigncy in the 50th Reg^t quartered in Jersey at £260. I own that this last step has given me much more pleasure than the former wou'd have done. He will be now at much less expence of money & constitution than he wou'd have been, and his promotions will go on easier and more rapidly.

The whole publick attention seems directed to the negotiation now going on at Lisle between this court and the republick of France for a peace, and tho' the treaty has been open upwards of three weeks not a word has yet transpir'd from any good authority of what the terms are like to be. Every endeavour that ingenuity cou'd devise has been exerted in vain to penetrate into this most important secret. The mind is worried with conjecture; speculation is almost exhausted; and men are left to a loose unbounded range of opinion. Some wicked ones suppose that if there sh'd be a peace, it may

* For a notice of George Erving, see 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. p. 472 note. He was the uncle of the younger James Bowdoin, and father of George W. Erving. — Eds.

be literally such an one as we read of, "that passes all understanding." The majority of opinions, however, is that the treaty will come to nought. They intimate that they have already seen serio-comic farces of this sort acted, and suppose that this, with a little change of dress and scenery, will have the same finale. But I, who am of the minority among the multitude, am of a different opinion. I think that the ministry are now sincere, and that the treaty will terminate in a peace, unless something very unforeseen sh'd turn up; not that the animosity of the parties has in the least abated or that the voice of humanity is in the least attended to, but the exhaustion of strength which makes peace more a necessary than a desirable object. In short, it appears that the war must burn out for want of fuel. Those who give France the credit of singly withstanding almost all the powers in Europe, and at the same time maintaining a most ferocious & desolating civil war in the bowels of their country, and finally triumphing over all her enemies and establishing her new government upon a firm and perhaps immoveable basis, go too far. France did not stand forth singly, as is suggested, but had an ally more powerful than the whole union; an ally that encreased in strength as the other parties grew languid, and is now in the fullest vigour when they are seemingly exhausted. You can be at no loss to perceive that this ally is our national debt. The enormous size that this has grown to calls on us most imperiously for peace. We have carried the war to as great an extent as our strength and situation will admit. Almost all the distant colonies of the French and Dutch are taken; the trade of the Dutch, French, and Spaniards almost annihilated; and the principal ports of the three powers completely blockaded by our fleets. If the war shou'd be continu'd another year the question may be, What are we to get to compensate for the 42 mil^o that must be ex-

pended in the course of it? Why, Sir, carrying on war in this way is like pelting frogs with diamonds. I was one who always tho't, and do yet believe, that the territory and property of every other description that we have taken has been obtain'd at double the price by the sword to what it might have been acquir'd at by direct purchase with money, to say nothing in the latter case of the abatement of human misery. I believe that had this court before it struck a blow offer'd 100 or 150 mil^s for all that they have taken, the French wou'd have jump'd at the offer, and given a warrantee deed for the quiet possession, — till another war, at least. Whereas now on the settling of a peace, it is probable that a great part of what the sword has acquir'd will be restor'd. What is to follow after a peace, when the French are left in possession of such a large territory annex'd to their own immense country, and under a free government, is difficult to say. I dare not even hazard a conjecture. The imagination is fill'd with conceptions of wonderful changes that must take place in the moral & political world in the course of another century in consequence of the astonishing revolutions of France & America.

I am very happy to find by the last acc^{ts} from America that the Congress are adopting, in my opinion, the wisest step it can take to put an end to the dispute with France. America has undoubtedly had great provocation from all the powers at war, and such as might justify a different conduct on her part; but the measures they are taking under all the given circumstances of things appear to be the wisest & best. Twenty or thirty years hence it may be the reverse. The plan of fitting out three or four frigates appears not a well digested measure; the expence of such an armament, such as it is, will bear heavy on the publick purse, cause great murmuring & discontents among the country members, greatly augment the national debt, increase the fermentation among the

parties, and in the end be of little utility to any but the chief executive in enabling him to create influence by posts, jobs, and patronage, things always to be avoided in all governments if possible, but mostly so in republics. The best way might be, if compel'd to arm, to leave it to the trade who are the immediately injur'd party to make their own reprisals, and in their own way, by fitting out privateers to annoy the trade of their enemy. With such a vast line of sea coast, such numbers of men, and with the faculty and means of building ships in every part of the union, such swarms of privateers may be sent to sea as soon to make a commercial nation sick of hostilities with you. If you consider what America did last war with her privateers, when most of her seaports were in possession of the English, and she labour'd under almost every other disadvantage, you may better judge what under the improv'd circumstances of her situation she may now do. On the contrary, three or four frigates only as a national fleet of the second commercial power in the world for the defence & protection of its trade, might be a matter more of ridicule than of dread.

My son is yet in France, and I begin to think will not return till the return of peace. Remember me very kindly to M^{rs} Bowdoin, and believe me, with great sincerity, d^r Sir,

Your most faithful & obed^t serv^t.

GEO. ERVING.

ROBERT LISTON TO JOHN TEMPLE.*

PHILADELPHIA, 31 March, 1798.

Sir, — The affair of Captain Tucker, of his Majesty's sloop of war the Hunter, which took place at New York

* Sir Robert Liston, minister from Great Britain to the United States from 1796 to the latter part of 1800, was born in Scotland Oct. 8, 1742, and died in his native country July 15, 1836. For more than thirty years he was in the British diplomatic service. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxxiii. pp. 356, 357. — Eds.

during my late excursion to the South, has given me very serious concern; and I think it proper to state to you my sentiments concerning the business fully, in the hopes of preventing if possible the recurrence of circumstances of so disagreeable a nature in time to come.

An explanation appears to be the more necessary, as in your letter in which you give me some account of this matter you mention the probability that a complaint will be made on the subject to me or to his Majesty's Secretary of State (through the American envoy in London); whereas I have on the contrary thought myself called upon to make remonstrances to the American ministry here on the improper and offensive proceedings of the public officers at New York on this occasion.

You are not unacquainted, Sir, with my general sentiments respecting the forcible enrollment of American seamen on board of our men of war. I am decidedly of opinion that the King's naval officers ought not to impress the citizens of the United States, and that if by accident any such citizens have been impressed they ought not to be detained on board.

(One exception only occurs to me. It is when an American seaman has entered voluntarily into the King's service and received his Majesty's bounty. In that case, whatever doubt there may be of the wisdom or policy of such enlistments I think it clear that the captains of our ships have a right to detain the person and to exact the services of the man so engaged.)

But when it is known or suspected that real Americans are held by compulsion on board of the King's ships, by what means are they to be released?

Not (I answer) by means of any legal proceedings under the authority of the government of the country where the ships happen to be stationed. According to the custom of nations I conceive that ships of war are in some degree on the same footing with the houses of

ambassadors. No officer of justice can enter them without leave previously asked and obtained ; unless perhaps in extreme cases, such as that of a refusal to give up a criminal charged with murder or treason, cases which certainly did not exist in the instance in question.

There is also a respect and deference due to the persons of officers when they come on shore. In many countries of Europe they enjoy certain privileges and exemptions which are defined and established.

Now what took place at New York appears to me to have been a faulty and mortifying disregard of the rules of propriety and decorum thus reciprocally observed among civilized nations. The issuing of the writ from the Mayor's Court against the commander of a British ship of war was an irregular proceeding of which Captain Tucker would have been justified in opposing the enforcement in whatever place it had been undertaken ; but the attempt to arrest him in his own ship, the threats employed by the commandant of the fort on Governor's Island to prevent him from sailing (though the safety of the ship required it), the indecency of extorting from him the King's commission (by way of security) were insults which he ought to have repelled at all hazards and by every means in his power.

In my eyes, Sir, when a demand of the nature alluded to is to be made, the only proper channel from the members of the government which conceives itself injured to the commander of a British ship of war is through the medium of his Majesty's consuls or his minister in this country. Interposition on emergencies of this sort appears to be one of the most useful branches of the duty of a consul or minister in America in the present crisis. It gives me pain therefore to observe that you did not view the matter in the same light ; (if credit is to be given to what is stated by the sheriff in his deposition published in the newspapers, — that you *declined any*

interference whatever upon the occasion, and said that *he* — (*the sheriff* —) *must proceed to the discharge of his duty, &c;*) and I flatter myself that what I have now hinted at with regard to the practice of other nations will convince you of the propriety of employing your good offices to prevent in future the civil magistrates of New York from having recourse to any process of law against the commanders of British ships. It is unnecessary to remark that the reception such an attempt might meet with from officers of a different temper from Mr Tucker might possibly endanger the peace between the two countries.

You say “*You have no authority over British commanders; — that they are independent of you*” — (I quote from the sheriff’s printed deposition). The fact certainly is so: you cannot issue *orders*; you cannot give *directions*. But I have no doubt that *representations* on your part would have the desired effect. From my own experience I can say that since my arrival in this country applications made by his Majesty’s consuls in the different parts of the United States or by myself in favour of *real* American seamen have never in a single instance (*when accompanied with authentick documents of citizenship*) failed of success. I am confident therefore that had you made remonstrances in favour of the (supposed) American citizens in behalf of whom the writs were issued out of the Mayor’s Court of New York, and had Captain Tucker released them in compliance with what you had represented (always supposing that there were irrefragable proofs of the reality of the rights of the parties claiming) Admiral Vandeput would have confirmed and approved what he had done: whereas I am afraid that neither he nor any other British officer of real spirit can think of what actually took place without feeling a considerable degree of mortification.

To prevent any possibility of a mistake with regard to

my meaning when I speak of the privileges of the officers of the navy and the respect due to them in foreign countries, I beg leave to state that I principally allude to what concerns the exercise of their publick duty (such for instance as their refusal to give up deserters or liberate volunteers, &c.); and that I do not pretend to insinuate that they are not subject to the laws of the country in what regards their private conduct when on shore.

Again, when I express my confident opinion that the Admiral commanding on this station will approve of the restitution of American *citizens* on your representation, when that representation is accompanied with *satisfactory documents*, I think it right to repeat what I have said on former occasions on this subject. By *citizens* I understand those only who are natives of this country or who were settled in it previous to the recognition of independence. And the *documents* I allude to are not the papers usually called *protections*, or the certificates granted by the collectors of the customs in conformity to the circular letter of the Secretary of the Treasury of July, 1796. These papers are so loose and vague in their terms, and the frauds committed with regard to them are so frequent and so scandalous, that the Lords of the Admiralty have authorized the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war to refuse paying any attention to them when they are unaccompanied with other proofs. Your interference therefore in favour of American seamen is justifiable only in cases where such evidence of birth or residence is produced as leaves no doubt on your own mind of the *bonâ fide* right of the claimant.

I remain with perfect truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

ROB. LISTON.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE, BART.

PREESON BOWDOIN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, March 30th, 1800.JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

D^r SIR, — You may perhaps be surpris'd at receiving a letter from a person so little known, or perhaps totally unknown, but as a relative & a quondam acquaintance of your deceas'd father, am embolden'd to address you on a subject of the first importance to me, no less than the education of a child. Without farther preface therefor you'll permit me to inform you that I have a son about 13 years of age, who has been at school from an early period to this time, & his tutor, who is a very worthy clergyman, tells me that the rudiments of letters & science are well laid, that he is a boy of some genius, & I can venture to say of a most amiable disposition; he is now reading Horace & Greek, but his present tutor being about to quit that line of life, & there being no seminary in this State that entirely meets my approbation, am at a loss as to the sequel of his education. From the establish'd character of the College at Cambridge, not only as to education, but what I deem of still greater consequence the attention paid to the morals of the students, have it in contemplation to send my son there, tho' there is one circumstance you'll permit me to mention, that is, that at the seminaries generally throughout New England an idea prevails here that the students have not the privilege of attending the place of worship to which they have been us'd, but are confin'd to a particular one, tho' this is so repugnant to that liberty of conscience for which we all contend that I cannot suppose that such is the fact. You'll therefor permit me to ask the favor of you to give me a particular account of the College, at what age or at what stage of education boys are admitted, or if there is any school in which they may so far complete their

education as to capacitate them for the College, also the expence attendant, & any further information you may judge necessary & should you on the whole recommend sending my son there, believe I shall do so, & perhaps may accompany him myself, as I am very desirous of once more seeing my friends in Boston, in which case, as it is such a distance from me, may I hope that you will be good enough to take my son under your patronage. I thought it necessary to be thus particular as to his age & progress in learning that you might the better judge how far he might be qualify'd for a college.

If your mother is living, please present my most respectful compliments, also to your sister,* who I presume is in Boston since the death of her husband, likewise to your lady tho' to her unknown. Hope you'll excuse this freedom & favor me with an answer as soon as may be.

With sentiments of perfect esteem,

I am, d^r sir, yr. m^o obd^t.

PREESON BOWDOIN.

GEORGE ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

LONDON, 10 Oct^r, 1800.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 6th ult^o by the Diana. I now enclose you M^r Wright's bill & rec^t for certain books, and Cap^t Knox's rec^t for a box contain^g them. As you left the choice of the books to me, I was considerably puzzl'd in selecting such as I tho't you may not have seen, and that were at once instructive & entertaining, and it will be a pleasure to me to hear that I have thus far succeeded. You will see by the amount of the bill that I have not yet half fulfill'd your commission. By the next I may go a little further, and at last perhaps leave a part for any particular directions you may wish to send. The Machiavel was

* The widow of Sir John Temple. — Eds.

the very best I cou'd find; it has become rather a scarce book, nor is it likely there will soon be a new edition. The Embassy to Arva is quite new, and opens to us a communication with a country of vast extent & population, and susceptible of many valuable branches of commercial intercourse. The travels of Sonnini in Egypt are thôt to contain the best account of that interesting country that has been publish'd by any modern traveller; and setting aside a little of the light frippery of the Frenchmen, he seems to be more of a scientific, philosophick traveller than is commonly to be met with. The Life of Catharine, if you have never before, may afford you very considerable information & entertainment, and what must be very gratifying to the reader, it is suppos'd to be in all material points strictly authentic. Gray's Poems, you have doubtless seen, and reprinted them upon your memory. I send them only as a specimen of the neatness & elegance to which we have arriv'd in the manufacture of paper and types. Charchard's map is an exact copy of the great one, on a reduc'd scale.

Sir Grenville & Lady Temple and the Cap^t came to town a few days ago from Cheltenham, and appear to be in perfect health. In a letter which I wrote the other day to y^r sister Lady Temple I acquainted her that James was like to succeed in the exchange he was then negotiating into the 65th, but am sorry now to say that he has been disappointed. He is, however, very sharply on the lookout, and may by and by find a favorable opportunity. He may probably write you by this conveyance, and be more explicit on this subject.

You will soon hear that the American Com^{rs} have at length settl'd preliminaries of a treaty of amity & commerce with the French Republick. What the articles are has not yet transpir'd. If they contain a renewal of the old treaty, it, in my opinion, will produce hostili-

ties between this country & America, unless this country sh'd make peace with France. There has been a kind of negotiation carrying on lately between us & France; and hopes were at one time pretty elate that it might be brôt to a favorable issue. These hopes are now over, for the negotiation is at an end, and no prospect of speedily renewing it. So, if the war is to go on, it must necessarily involve America. They of course will open their trade with France and her colonies under the rights of her treaty; their ships will be taken by British cruisers going into French ports, and this may unhappily bring on a rupture.

Remember me very kindly to M^{rs} Bowdoin, and believe me to be very truly, d^r Sir,

Your very faithful & obed^t

GEO. ERVING.

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

WASHINGTON, March 3^d, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—The question on the repeal of the judiciary sistem of the last session of Congress was this afternoon taken on the third reading of the bill by yeas & nays; in favour of the repeal 59, against it 32. Very few subjects have taken up so much time in Congress as this, the arguments have been unusually lengthy & desultry, the opposition gentlemen have paid less respect to decency, perticularly as respects the President, than has ever been known heretofore, many of them appeared to take perticular pains to go out of their way for the

* Gen. Henry Dearborn was born in North Hampton, N. H., Feb. 23, 1751, and died at Roxbury June 6, 1829. On the breaking out of hostilities with the mother country he joined the army and served with credit through the war. In 1789 he was appointed United States Marshal for Maine; and from 1793 to 1797 he was a member of Congress. In 1801 he was appointed by Jefferson Secretary of War; this office he filled through both of Jefferson's administrations. From 1809 to 1812 he was collector of the port of Boston, in which office he succeeded General Lincoln. From 1822 to 1824 he was minister to Portugal. After the death of his first wife he married the widow of Mr. Bowdoin. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. ii. p. 117. — Eds.

purpose of treating the President not only with disrespect but to charge him with almost every kind of misconduct in direct termes. In fact they seem to have lost all sence of common decency, they affect to believe that the Constitution is totally distroy'd and make strong insinuations that an insurrection & civil war will be the result. Indeed if we are to judge of their wishes & intentions by the language they have used in debate, we must presume that every means in their power will be used to produce a serious opposition to the measures of government. I have been the most astonished at the conduct of the gentlemen from Massachusetts, knowing, as they and every other person of any information in the State must know, what has been the settled and uniform opinion there on a subject precisely similar, which has been fully considered both by the Legislature and by the judges of all our courts, having been discussed almost every session of the Gen^l Court for ten or twelve years past, and with all the heat, zeal, & party feelings which the different proposed sistims for doing away the Courts of Common Pleas have produced, not a single man ever appeared to doubt of the constitutional right to remove the offices of those judges who hold their places during good behavior, or in other words by the same tenure that the judges of the Inferior Courts of the United States hold their places, and yet when Congress attempt to do what the Gen^l Court of Massachusetts had a right to do, as agreed to on all hands, it is nothing short of a most violent attack on the very existence of the Constitution. Doct^r Eustis in debate yesterday expressed an oppinnion fully in favour of the constitutionality of the measure but has perhaps some doubts as to the expediency, (there is some reason to suspect that he will have doubts on several important measures which will probably be decided on in the course of the present session). He has a great deal more *prudence* than I had

heretofore given him credit for as a politician. (But this in confidence.)

Please to present my most respectfull compliments to M^{rs} Bowdoin, and believe me to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect,

Sir, your obed^t hum' serv^t.

H. DEARBORN.

HON^{BL} JAMES BOWDOIN.

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, April 10th, 1802.

DEAR SIR, — I have been honoured with your letter of the 20th ult^o. The Secretary of the Treasury informs me that the information you wish relating to exports cannot be given with sufficient accuracy but by a collection of materials from voluminous documents which he will have prepared for you as soon as the present press of business abates. I shall not neglect to remind him of the propriety of furnishing the whole of the information you desired, and as soon as I can obtain it no time shall be lost in transmitting it. There is reason to believe that our friend E,* is sensible of the effect his conduct has had on the minds of his friends, and I hope it will serve to prevent a repetition of similar conduct. The leading characters among the fede^t appear to have abandoned every idea of any thing like a compromise, and consequently are to be considered as open & avowed enemies; they appear to rely principally on writing down (as they term it) the present administration through the channell of their newspapers. The industrious and unremitting application of the tallants they possess, may, in a country like this, where newspapers are so generally circulated, produce

* William Eustis; when this letter was written, a member of the House of Representatives from Massachuse'ts. He succeeded Dearborn as Secretary of War on the inauguration of Madison. — Eds.

very important effects, unless equal industry is used on the opposite side. The inveterate and indecent conduct of the opposition members & their partizans has very much the appearance of despair. The convulsions they had predicted as the effect of the repeal of the judiciary system have not yet been produced, and there is reason to believe that they now despair of any considerable aid from that source. They are fully aware of the popularity which will result from economy & a diminution of taxes, and of course will make every exertion in their power to counteract the effects they so much dread. From the various accounts we receive from Massachusetts relative to the election we are at a loss in forming an opinion on the result, but the most prevailing sentiment here is, that Mr Strong will be re-elected by a considerable majority, that in the Senate the Republicans will prevail, and that the House will be better than the last; but we entertain strong doubts of a Republican majority in Boston. We are in an anxious state of suspense, but expect soon to be relieved. It is most devoutly hoped by all our Republican friends now at this place that *our Gen^t** & his friends will hereafter consent to a change in the candidate for L^t Gov^r. There can be no remaining doubt in the minds of men of information, but that a change from our Gen^l to Mr B. would produce a very important effect on the election, nothing but a fear of dividing the Republican interest has prevented the change above alluded to the two last elections. I am not convinced that the candidate for Gov^r has, or can, command as many votes as another gentleman of my acquaintance would if set up. We have not yet received any information to be relied on respecting the New Hampshire election; the accounts in the different papers are so various that we can only conjecture that Gilman is re-elected.

* Gen. William Heath was for several years the Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and was elected in 1806, but declined to accept the office. — EDS.

Please, Sir, to tender my most respectfull compliments to M^{rs} Bowdoin; and accept the assurances of my most respectfull esteem.

H. DEARBORN.

P. S. Sir, I herewith enclose a newspaper published in this city, in which you will see a piece addressed to M^r Bayard. This piece has placed M^r B. in a very unpleasant situation; he appears to feel it very sensibly; the writer is a man of tallent & respectability, who has more rods prepared if M^r B. should venture to take the field.

HON^{BLE} JAMES BOWDOIN.

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, April 20th, 1802.

DEAR SIR, — I have made a collection of such printed & other documents as have come to my knowledge, and if I hereafter find any others which appertain to your requisition, I will with great pleasure forward them; no expence has, or will accrue in the collection or forwarding of those papers.

The Republicans appear to have met with not only a defeat, but an overthrow in Boston; we have yet no means of accounting for so great a falling off. I hope the effect will be such as it should be, that of increased animation and vigorous exertions on the part of the Republicans. I should presume that pride of corps must come in aid to the other feelings of the Republicans, and that from a combination of motives & feelings they must be roused to the greatest exertions. Brave soldiers (especially when engaged in the cause of virtue) never fail of deriving fresh vigor from a partial defeat. I hope that M^r G. nor our G^l,* will be again considered as candidates; their having been so often, not only beaten but

* Elbridge Gerry was the Republican candidate for Governor, and Gen. William Heath the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. — Eds.

distanced, I should presume will prevent their being run again soon. A British Act of Parliament was yesterday received, authorising the King to suspend the operation of the Act passed in 1797 establishing what they call countervailing duties, in part or in whole, for the term of one year; the unreasonableness of those duties were such, that a single representation on our part has produced the present Act. And if Congress shall think proper to pass the bill proposed in the early part of the present session on that subject, the President will undoubtedly be able to make such arrangements with the British government as will place our navigation on a much better footing than it has been placed in by the British treaty; the British government at no time since our revolution has discovered so friendly a disposition towards this country as they do at present. It is evident that they are at last convinced that such a friendly intercourse with this country as will secure a great part of our trade is in a considerable degree essential to their own existence as a great & powerfull nation. With wise & prudent management on our part there is very little doubt but we shall be able to enter into such amicable stipulations relating to commerce as the fair principles of real reciprocity would dictate. So favourable an opportunity will not be neglected. No persons in America can consider the importance of our navigation and commerce in a higher point of view than the President & Secretary of State do; no exertions on their part will be wanting for placing it on the most advantageous footing.

Please, Sir, to tender my most respectfull compliments to M^{rs} Bowdoin, and believe me to be with esteem,

Your obed^t hum^l serv^t.

H. DEARBORN.

P. S. I shall probably send the papers by Col. Hitchburn or Gen^l Hull.

H. D.

HON^{BLE} JAMES BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO HENRY DEARBORN.

[April, 1802.]

THE HON^{BLE} GEN^L DEARBORN.

D^R SIR, — I am to acknowledge y^e rec^t of y^r much esteemed favours of y^e 10th & 20th instant, w^{ch}, owing to y^e new regulations in y^e post office, I rec^d within 48 hours of each other. The events of y^e late election here & y^e measures leading thereto abundantly prove that a systemized opposition to M^r J.'s administration has been agreed upon & will be unrelentingly pursued under all y^e rancour which the times & circumstances will allow; and I hold with you in y^e opinion that further attempts at a compromise will prove fruitless & will continue to be treated with inattention, if not with contempt. I am however far from thinking that y^e system of moderation & forbearance ought yet to be relinquished; not for the sake of y^e leaders nor their i^mmediate coadjutors, but in order to lead y^e people more effectually to co-operate with y^e administration; who, I conceive, are not yet sufficiently habituated to y^e constitution to draw a proper line between y^e respect due to the administration & y^e support of a decent & respectful opposition, w^{ch} must be expected, is useful, & ought to be allowed. Whether I am placed in a proper situation to see y^e motives or to judge of the conduct of the opposition I cannot say: I hope they mean nothing more than a change of men; and if that is all there is little chance of their ultimate success. For however they may agree in an opposition to y^e present administration, y^e party although now coalesced is still made up of incoherent parts, which will become y^e more observable as y^e period approaches when it shall be required for them to form their government & to satisfy y^e interfering claims for office: who will be sett up for their President? shall it be A—? No: more than half their party already disclaim him: shall it

be H—? no: they say, he is volatile & wants both dignity & character: shall it be P—? no: he is said to want influence in the Southern States, is not known in y^e Northern, and they strongly suspect his talents.* Conceive then forming their administration and agreeing upon their men! — the difficulties to be overcome, the jarring interests to be reconciled, the disappointments to be smothered! in short, review their situation and there can be little ground for apprehension from their exertions. Had I an opinion to give, I sh^d say, Let y^e present administration be true to itself & pursue y^e manly, disinterested policy which has hitherto marked its progress, regardless of newspaper invectives & trusting to public support from measures flowing from upright views to y^e public welfare; and in my opinion, opposition will be finally obliged to hide its head & shrink before an acknowledged superiority. I have been thus particular & lengthy to shew you that altho we have failed in carrying our point in this State, that we neither fear nor despond, but like good soldiers shall keep y^e field, rally our forces & hope for victory.

With respect to y^e commercial part of your letter, I must confess, I view the proposition of y^e British government as little short of an insidious attempt to procure another concession in favour of her unjust system of commercial regulations. The proposition, unless it goes further than what appears by your letter, notwithstanding y^e suggestions of y^e English opposition news papers, w^{ch} I consider in no other light than as decoys to allure our government into an unadvised measure, ought not to be too suddenly met, but on y^e contrary to excite doubt & distrust of y^e contemplated arrangement. The English taking off their countervailing duties are in my opinion

* The three men indicated by initials were John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and Charles C. Pinckney. In the election for President in 1804 Mr. Adams was not a candidate; Hamilton had been killed a few months before; and Pinckney received 14 votes to 162 cast for Jefferson. — Eds.

of little consequence as they effect y^e employment of our vessells; G. Britain has no right to expect to be y^e carriers of a greater proportion of our produce than what she consumes of it, which in y^e principal articles of tobacco & rice would not employ more than ten thousand tons of shipping; her consumption of tobacco being about 11,000 hogsheads annually, & of rice about 16,000 tierces: and even the shipping thus employed might be compelled to be dead freighted upon their voyage outward to y^e United States by taking off y^e tonnage duty upon American vessells & retaining it upon foreign vessells, w^{ch}, if allowable by y^e treaty, before the expiration of two years w^d effectually correct y^e disadvantages of y^e countervailing duties. It is by her monopoly of our internal trade that she is enabled to make her ports y^e emporium of our principal productions: viz: of rice, tobacco, indigo & lately cotton, wth w^{ch} she has been enabled to supply Europe in time of peace at a cheaper rate than we c^d ship y^e same articles direct in our own bottoms. This circumstance has arisen from y^e great profits of our retail trade, w^{ch} has given to her factors the command of our exports, who determine their value and by selling y^e market price a little above y^e cash value, w^{ch} they indemnify in y^e sale of their European commodities.

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, July 10th, 1802.

DEAR SIR, — My having been called to some distance from this place on public business, and being now about setting out again on an other toure, I have been less at leisure than usual, which I beg you to accept as an excuse for my not writing oftener. Edwards is one of the commissioners according to your wish; Judge Daws is also

one, his appointment resulted from what Mr Lincoln & myself considered usefull policy. You know what influence his father has among the mechanic interest in town, and what an effect the noticing his favourite son may have on the father; unconnected with any political motive, I presume that he will be considered as a suitable charactor for such an appointment. Sam^l Brown, Jon^a L. Austin, Joseph Blake & Sam^l Allen Otis are the other commissioners for Boston.

Any of your observations, Sir, on any subject will be gratefully received, and especially on the subject you allude to in your favour of the 12th ult^o. If there are any other documents you wish which I can procure, I shall with great pleasure attend to any request which you may please to make on that score. It would seem that your Gov^r at last begins to suspect that the ship in which he has been imbarked is about going ashore, and that he is prepareing to disembark; Mr Elsworth of Connecticut appears to be taking the same course. I have no doubt but they despair of keeping the old ship afloat. I suspect that the warm Fed^s in your quarter are at a loss in determining how to treat the Gov^r's late conduct; pray, Sir, will you be so obliging as to inform me what sort of a character the Surveyor of your port, Mr. Melvil, is, and what has been his general political conduct. By the papers it appears that no choice has yet been made in the lower district in Maine of a representative. There appears to have been but very few votes the last trial, from which it may be presumed that party spirit has subsided, or that the people have run so many races as to have got out of breath. The question which seems most to interest the public mind, is whether or not, the French are to take possession of the Floridas and Louisiana; that subject is still enveloped in thick darkness, no satisfactory information has yet been obtained on that subject. It is hoped that if no other

means could open the eyes of the French government that the remarks of Lord Hawksbury in Parlement will have the effect; they must be convinced that the measure, if taken with any unfriendly view towards this country, must have a direct & strong tendency to produce a connection between this country & Great Britain which would be very formidable to France. She must be sensible that a close connection between this country & England would ultimately be the most powerfull combination which she can have to fear; but I suspect that Bonaparte has been for some time past so deeply engaged in organizing his schemes of ambition that he has paid but little attention to more remote objects. There is reason to believe that Great Britain would have no objection to recommence the war immediately, if we would engage to oppose the French in taking possession of Louisiana in a way that would with certainty involve us in the war. There is reason to believe that Le Clerk, Commander in Chief at St. Domingo, is using all the means in his power to divert the attention of his government from his own misconduct by raising suspicions against our government; he probably calculates upon his connection with the first Consul as a powerfull aid in exculpating himself & attaching blame to this country. All proper means will be used to counteract any improper views he may have relative to us.

Although the spring was backward and we have lately had more rain than the farmers wish, yet there was never a finer prospect of crops.

Please to present my most respectfull compliments to M^{rs} Bowdoin, and believe me to be, Sir, with respectfull esteem,

Your hum^l serv^t.

H. DEARBORN.

HON^{BL} JAMES BOWDOIN,

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON Nov^r 13th, 1804.

DEAR SIR,—I am confident that the Court of Madrid will not be as agreeable to you as that of London.* I hope, however, that you will not decline accepting an appointment at the former Court, the offer of which you will receive in the course of a few days. The Pres^t of the U. S. has nominated you this day as minister to the Court of Madrid, and I presume there can be no doubt of the concurrence of the Senate. Your friend George W. Erving, now in London, is proposed as Secretary of Legation. His emoluments will be small, but it will be considered as an introduction into the diplomatic corps, in which situation I think he will in due time make a conspicuous figure. It will, I presume, be necessary for you to visit the seat of government soon after you shall have been officially notified of your appointment, which notice you will probably receive in the course of fifteen or twenty days after this reaches you & perhaps sooner.

Please to present my best respects to M^{rs} Bowdoin, & believe me to be, with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your obed^t hum^l serv^t.

HON^{BLE} JAMES BOWDOIN.

H. DEARBORN.

* Among the Bowdoin and Temple Papers is the rough draught of a letter from Bowdoin to Dearborn, dated Dec. 28, 1802, in which he writes: "A particular friend of yours has lately been acquainted that M^r King was likely to be soon recalled; how far it w^d comport with the honor & interest of your friend to be named his successor I submit to your consideration." "If it could be done without involving the propriety of your own conduct or that of Mr. Jefferson's, permit me to authorize you to mention my name to Pres^t J. as a successor to Mr. King." Under date of Jan. 9, 1803, Dearborn replied: "The subject of your confidential letter had been anticipated. I took the liberty of introducing the subject more than two months since, and have had several conferences relative thereto, and with such appearance of success that I had expected soon to have been permitted to sound your inclinations on the subject, but from recent unforeseen occurrences it becomes necessary to have recourse to measures which may produce a temporary derangement of measures heretofore contemplated, which you will probably hear more of soon, but unless the circumstances above alluded to should materially interfere with the common course of arrangements relative to foreign relations, I shall have strong hopes of being able to succeed in the measures I had contemplated, and you may rest assured, Sir, that nothing is nearer my heart than the success above alluded to." Here the matter apparently rested for nearly two years. — Eds,

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, March 13th, 1805.

DEAR SIR,—I should not have delay'd an answer to your letter of the 24th ult^o had I not been advised by the President, to whom I shew it, to postpone my answer until your reply to M^r Madison's letter should arrive. Yesterday M^r Madison informed me that he had received your reply, and also what would be the outlines of his answer, altho your journey to this place will be dispensed with, unless you can find it convenient to perform it, I know it would be by the President & by M^r Madison considered an unfortunate circumstance that they should not have a personal interview with you previous to your departure for Europe. I will take the liberty of suggesting to you a passage from Providence by water, in one of the packets of that place; the accommodations of those packets are so good, that in April I should presume a passage in that way would be not more unpleasant, expencive, or tedious (in point of time) than a journey by land. Having recollected that you will not probably be allowed any pay or emolument for a private secretary in addition to the pay of the Secretary of Legation, and having on farther reflection in some measure changed my opinion as to the propriety of my son's* going to Europe, you will please to consider my application to you on that subject as though it had not been made, and make such arrangements relating to any other person as will be most agreeable to you. My son has not yet compleeted that part of his education which relates to his intended pursuit in life, on which he must principally depend for a livelihood, viz., the practice of the law; he is now twenty two years of age, and I fear that his going to Europe would not only be a sacrifice of his time, but might in some degree unfit him

* Henry A. S. Dearborn. He graduated at William and Mary College in 1803, and afterward studied law with Judge Story. — Eds.

for an industrious pursuit of his business after his return. He is anxious to go for one or two years, but I hope I shall be able to convince him that it will be more for his interest to remain at home; he has a strong passion for general information, and is a close student, free from any vices, and I fear that a trip to Europe may detach his mind from such a close pursuit of that kind of information which will be most essential for a young man who must depend on his own industry for making his way through life as will be injurious to him.

Please to present my most respectfull compliments to Mrs Bowdoin, and accept the tender of my most sincere esteem & respect.

H. DEARBORN.

P. S. If after my son shall have compleeted his education, he should discover a strong desire for visting some part of Europe before he sets down to business, I may be induced to take the liberty of soliciting your patronage for him for a short time.

H. D.

How much longer I shall be obliged to solicit your indulgence on the score of the demand you have against me, is uncertain; had I not have been obliged when last at Kennebeck to pay upwards of \$1700, to avoid two tedious lawsuits, which could not have been mannaged to advantage in my absence, I had contemplated paying the only demand which remained against me. The disputes above alluded to related to bounderies of land in Monmouth.

H. D.

HON^{BL} JAMES BOWDOIN.

JAMES MADISON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

DEPT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Mar. 14, 1805.

SIR, — Your letter of the 28th of Feb^y has been duly received. The continuance of your infirm health is sincerely regretted on personal as well as on public consid-

erations; the latter of which give some importance to a visit from you here previous to your departure for Spain. The President nevertheless readily acquiesces in dispensing with such a visit in case the obstacles to it should not be removed; persuaded that if they should be removed, we shall have the pleasure of seeing you about the time intimated in my last. As soon as the point shall be finally decided that it will not be in your power to under[take?] the journey you will oblige me by an intimation of it; and by adding to it the time of your expected departure for Spain. There will be an advantage in postponing as long as will consist therewith the instructions to be forwarded to you, in order to accommodate them to the latest state of things transmitted from Madrid. As yet we have not heard of the arrival of M^r Monroe, nor anything from him since he left Rotterdam about the middle of October.

With my best wishes, I remain, Sir, with great respect and consideration,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

JAMES MADISON.

· JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.*

Boston, April 9th, 1805.

GEORGE W. ERVING Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — . . . The fact is I have been extremely unwell the whole winter; so much so that althô I expected to have rec^d my instructions at Washington, yet the President has within a few days, rather than accept my resignation, dispensed with my taking a journey there. It is owing to this circumstance that I have not written to you, althô I have desired M^r Winthrop to state to you my situation from time to time relative to the appointm^t & it is only since y^e 22^d ult^o that my

* The omitted part of this letter relates to purely domestic matters, and is of no biographical or historical interest. — Eds.

acceptance has been finally determined. My health is now very indifferent, & was it not that I expect to derive benefit from the sea voyage, I sh^d at all hazards decline the appointment on acc^o of my health. I have at length concluded to take passage with M^{rs} Bowdoin, my neice,* & young George Sullivan,† the son of y^e Judge, as my private secretary, for S^t Andero in Spain. The ship on w^{ch} we shall embark is called y^e Baltic commanded by Cap^t Geo. F. Blunt, & we calculate to sail from hence on or before the 10th of May, certainly as soon as the tenth. As I intend taking with me a chariot & coachee I can furnish you with a place in the latter, to proceed with Sarah & M^r Geo. Sullivan from S^t Andero to Madrid. I hope I shall not be disappointed in this arrangement & that you will meet me at S^t Andero at the time of my arrival there. Please to favour me with a few lines from you in case it sh^d not prove convenient to meet me there. A house-keeper, a lady's waiting maid, & a man servant are the only serv^{ts} I take from this country; and I could wish that in case you can procure me a cleaver, honest, & intelligent servant, such a one as you think that I shall want, without being too expensive, I sh^d be much obliged to you. I shall depend upon finding a coachman & footman at Madrid. I shall be obliged to you also to ascertain from M^r Munroe what will be the best method to procure a house, furniture, & other conveniences for the reputable establishment of my family at Madrid, & whether he c^d recommend me to a confidential person to advise with upon this subject. I take it for granted that you will not omit the fullest enquiries on the subject of our mission; what negotiations are concluded or are actually pending between the two governments; what principal

* Sarah Bowdoin Winthrop, daughter of Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop. She was born Jan. 3, 1788, was married to George Sullivan Jan. 26, 1809, and died in 1864. — Eds.

† Youngest son of Hon. James Sullivan. He was born Feb. 22, 1783, graduated at Harvard College in 1801, and died in Pau, France, Dec. 16, 1866. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xix. p. 305; Boston Rec. Com. Rep., vol. xxx. p. 270. — Eds.

characters at Madrid are friendly or hostile to our negotiations; and particularly what line of conduct ought to be generally observed or specially pursued by the American minister to forward the interests of y^e United States. I wish you also to ascertain the best mercantile houses or bankers at Madrid in whose hands may be deposited in safety any monies we may not have an immediate use for. My instructions & dispatches I have not yet rec^d; what letters of introduction will accompany them I know not. By my last letters from M^r Madison, governm^t had not heard from M^r Munroe since Oct^o last, when he was in Holland; so that I expect my instructions will very much depend upon what has been effected by his special mission. As people here seem to have no acquaintances at Madrid, I think it will be necessary for you to procure letters of introduction for yourself at least to some principal persons there: for my own part I expect but few letters, & I am apprehensive that those will be to persons of little consequence. Being much oppressed with business, I must conclude with repeating to you that I shall expect to see you at S^t Andero upon my arrival there, if you can conveniently do it. Give my best respects to your father, & acquaint him that it will give me the greatest pleasure to see him at Madrid, sh^d he think of taking a journey there. M^{rs} B. & Sarah desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always very sincerely yours, &c^a.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, Apr. 27, 05.

DEAR SIR,— Your favor of Mar. 25 has been duly recieved. I regret that the state of your health renders a visit to this place unadvisable. Besides the gratification we should have felt from personal considerations, the perusal of the correspondences for some time back with

the governments of Europe most interesting to us, by putting you in possession of the actual state of things between us, would have enabled you to act under all emergencies with that satisfaction to yourself which is derived from a full knowledge of the ground; but I presume you will find this supplied as to the government to which you go by the papers of the office at Madrid. Our relations with that nation are vitally interesting. That they should be of a peaceable & friendly character has been our most earnest desire. Had Spain met us with the same dispositions, our idea was that her existence in this hemisphere & ours should have rested on the same bottom; should have swam or sunk together. We want nothing of hers: & we want no other nation to possess what is hers; but she has met our advances with jealousy, secret malice, and ill faith. Our patience under this unworthy return of disposition is now on its last trial: & the issue of what is now depending between us will decide whether our relations with her are to be sincerely friendly, or permanently hostile. I still wish & would cherish the former; but have ceased to expect it.

I thank you for the sentiments of esteem you are so good as to express towards me, and the mark of it you wish me to place at Monticello. It shall be deposited with the memorials of those worthies whose remembrance I feel a pride & comfort in consecrating there. With my best wishes for the restoration of your health & for a pleasant voyage, I tender you my friendly salutations & assurances of great esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq.

GEORGE W. ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

ROTTERDAM, Sunday Night, Sep. 8, 1805.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived here at six o'clock this morning, & to-morrow propose to pursue my rout by way

of Breda. The vessel in which I took my passage (the address of the brokers, &c., is inclosed) will return in about three weeks & may probably lay at Gravesend a fortnight; she is about 80 tons & I think well suited to your purpose; her accommodations are very good & the captain a steady, active man, & what is very important, conscientiously sober; his rule not to drink on board is so strictly observed that even whilst we were at anchorage at Maislandsleys in this river & out of the reach of any possible danger, and tho he had been up all the preceeding night & was entirely wet thro, he refused to take a single glass of wine. I cannot promise M^r Bowdoin that he will not smoke, but we were not at all annoyed by his pipe; indeed he seems more addicted to what he calls eating (chewing) tobacco, in which way he certainly did not consume less during the passage than one pound. Upon the whole I can very safely recommend him to you; he will ask forty guineas, but probably take 30 or 35. You should have a written agreement with him upon this subject, he shoud covenant to start at a certain precise time, & not to take any other passengers; without this last proviso he will undoubtedly smuggle as many as he can upon you. In coming from London it will be well in addition to the ordinary passports to furnish yourself with an order from the alien office directing that your baggage may pass without interruption, without this you will be subject to an extremely vexatious search when on board. But as it may not be in rule to grant such an order from the alien office, in such case, previous to your leaving Gravesend, state to alien officer there your situation & that you expect him to order the officers on board not to examine your baggage; he is very obliging & complaisant, & will doubtless do every thing which you may desire upon the subject. There is no great choice of taverns at Gravesend, but upon the whole the "White Hart" is the best, & it is the more

convenient as the alien office is kept there. On arriving at Maislandsleys all vessels must come to anchor; you will be there first visited by an officer from a cutter who will take down your name, &c., & give you no trouble, as he is a very obliging young man; tho he is a commissioned officer yet he will expect a small fee. I gave him a guilder; for your family about five guilders will be sufficient, which you need not hesitate to put in his hand; his boat's crew will expect two or three schellings for "drink money." You will be then visted by the commandant from the shore, who is a lieutenant in the Dutch service; he also takes down particulars & receives your passport; no fee is to be given to him; it is his duty to leave a soldier on board, to write to the general at Rotterdam, & to transmit your passport. The regulation forbids any passengers landing except at Rotterdam, yet I obtained permission from this officer on account of Miss Lowell's ill health for that family to be landed; if the time of day, the weather, & wind are favorable it is much more convenient to continue on board the vessel & come up to Rotterdam, otherwise I think that you will be able to obtain permission to go on shore at Maislandslys; we were detained much longer there than usual by a coincidence of unlucky circumstances, yet after all I arrived here before Mr Lowell. I have however provided against the contingency of your wishing to land at Mais Slys, & Mr Alexander, who is extremely obliging & attentive, will be able to procure an order to the commandant to that effect. I recollect nothing further which it may be useful to mention; when here put up at the Marshal Turenne. You have nothing to apprehend from the small size of the packet, she is a very fine vessel, & her drawing only five foot of water is a very great advantage on this coast, from which the shoals extend a great way, & more particularly as the greater part of the buoys are taken up. Present me

respectfully to M^{rs} Bowdoin, to Miss Sarah, & M^r Sullivan.

My dear Sir, very faithy. & truly your ob^t s^t.

GEORGE W. ERVING.

P. S. M^r Alexander recommends the Orion, Cap^t Stoef-fets, as the best vessel, but says that they are all equally good; whichever you determine upon however it will be better to write to M^r Alexander by the packet preceeding it, informing him of the name of the vessel by which you intend to come, this he seems to consider as essential to enable him to procure the permission referred to.

G. W. E.

It will be better to bring a basket of provisions with you from London than to lay in at Gravesend for the voyage.

GEORGE W. ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, Sep. 17, 1805.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN, &C.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you from Rotterdam some hints as to the passage over, & I hope that when this finds you there that you will have had a pleasant one, & be in good health & spirits to pursue the journey. In pursuance of your wish I will go on with such observations as may be useful on the rout hither. If you should be disposed to make a short tour in Holland (which as two or three days will be sufficient, if the weather is fine you may find agreeable,) you can go from the Hague to Amsterdam, & not return to Rotterdam, in which case I think that you will have a better road to Antwerp & avoid what is most disagreeable, two or three ferries. But even if you should proceed immediately from Rotterdam (& the weather should not happen to be of the very best kind) I should recommend that you go considerably out of your way & cross the Rhine at Gorcum,

rather than go over to the Moordyck, the least exceptionable of the direct routs from Rotterdam. At Rotterdam put up at the Marshall Turenne; Mr Alexander, our vice consul there, will take great pleasure in making all the necessary arrangements in procuring carriages & otherwise for your journey. My rout from Rotterdam was over Islemonde & the Moordyck, the passage at the Moordyck is, as I suppose, about three miles over; the boats (as indeed they are every where in Holland) extremely well accommodated to the purpose; nevertheless if it rains or if there is much wind that voyage must be very disagreeable, especially for ladies. I fortunately found it otherwise: the roads through all the low provinces of Holland are deep & sandy, tho the dykes over which you pass are in some places paved with brick. It is not uncommon to make the journey from Rotterdam to Antwerp in a day, yet it is rather too fatiguing & as you are not pressed for time, I would recommend your dividing it; if you go to Gorcum, that will be a good place to stop at; otherwise at Breda, where you will find an excellent tavern, "The Prince Cardinal," which is kept by a very intelligent & obliging man who speaks good English. From Breda to Antwerp for the greater part of the rout the road is heavy, but as the distance is only 30 miles you may make an easy day's journey of it; at fifteen miles from Breda you enter on the French frontier, & there a custom house is established to examine your baggage; on shewing my passport there which was not however demanded I was treated with great civility, one or two packages only were merely opened, in fact no examination was made; but I understand that the search is generally made with great rigor, & even clothes for one's own use if new may be taken; but to avoid any difficulty of that sort I think it will be necessary only that the officer should understand your situation; I gave him 3 guilders for his civ-

ility; considering the quantity of your baggage it may be well to give him 5 or 6. When you arrive at Antwerp your passport is demanded & you are directed to call for it at the bureau of police, it will not be necessary for you to go there in person, but Mr Sullivan should go & from thence take it to Mr Ridgway our consul who will endorse it; it is then returned to the bureau & a French passport is given to enable you to go to Paris. The passport which you deliver at the gate of Antwerp is retained by the bureau, & sent on to Paris; therefore it would be better to furnish yourself with one from Mr Alexander for that purpose than to deliver up Mr Monroe's. At Antwerp put up at the "Grand Labourer," which is a good house & the master of which will be able to furnish you with proper carriages to proceed to Paris. I hired of him a cabriolet for 4 louis: but if you should not find there carriages quite suitable, take them only for Brussels, which is a short distance & where you may more certainly be accommodated with every thing you want. I did not stay at Antwerp, but the dock yards there are an object of great interest & curiosity which you would desire to see & for which a permission may be obtained without difficulty. It would be as well to bring from Rotterdam as much Dutch money as will pay your way to Antwerp only; there French currency commences. I did not stay at Brussels only to change horses; but you will be desirous of seeing the city, which is well worth a day's delay. The "Belle Vue" is said to be the best house. Between Brussels & Paris there are not many good places to stop at. I took the rout of Valenciennes, which was recommended as the best, & slept at Mons at the "Couronne," which is a good house; from thence I did not stop any where but travelled all night. The "Soleil d'Or" at Roye, if you can reach so far, they say is a tolerable resting place, but as to this part of the journey I cannot give you

so much information as I wish, & must therefore depend upon your finding accommodation from the enquiries which you will make on y^e road. I do not doubt that you will be able to divide the remaining distance comfortably. At Paris I recommend you to the house where I am, the "Hotel d'Etrangers," Rue Concord; the apartments excellent, the situation the best in Paris, & the air also, as it is near the river, the Champ d'Elysée, & the great place of the Revolution, much better than in any other situation; it is also a quiet house, & has no exceptionable persons in it;—the landlord is a reasonable & obliging man; if his house should be full go to the Hotel in the Place Vendome or to the "Grange Bataillere" but avoid by all means the Hotel "*De l'Empire*" & the Hotel "*De l'Europe*," for which I can give you the best reasons; I am more particular in this hint because those houses are most likely to be recommended to you. I think that you may be almost sure of finding apartments where I am, & I will endeavour (if I can without subjecting you to any additional expence) to make some arrangement with the landlord which will secure them; he will be able also to furnish your table in the best manner, tho upon this point great caution is necessary to prevent extortion, for if you order a dinner for your family he will furnish it at his own price; but an excellent dinner may be had at three or four livres per head & such an agreement should be made with him. I desired Mr Alexander to write to you from Rotterdam relative to the arrangements which he should make for your reception there; an order from the General will be obtained so that with your baggage you may land immediately & without difficulty. I omitted to mention in my letter from Rotterdam any thing respecting monies, & therefore lest you may meet with any difficulties on that score, & as you woud not perhaps chuse to require any thing in that way from Mr Alexander, I here-

with inclose a letter to my friend Mr Dixon, who will, I am persuaded, be very happy to render you all possible facilities. Present me respectfully to M^{rs} Bowdoin & to Miss Sarah & Mr Sullivan. Believing me, my dear Sir, always with much respect & attachment very truly yours.

GEORGE W. ERVING.

Mr Monroe will have communicated to you before you left London what I write to him from this place on the subjects relative to which we consulted previous to my departure, & therefore I omit to say any thing further at present. I shall write to you fully from Madrid.

G. W. E.

The Dutch coachmen who will drive you to Antwerp will expect about a florin for 15 miles. At Antwerp it will be well to get the new post book for the French roads; the regulations are so perfectly good & now so exactly observed, that there is not the least apprehension of imposition or of insolence as formerly from the postillions. The pay to a French postillion is ordinarily thirty sous per post; that is, the same pay as for a horse; some travellers give forty; but if you were even to give fifty, they will always ask for more; 30 sous is ample, being 50 per cent more than an English postillion gets in a country where living is a hundred per cent dearer. I paid 30 sous all the way to Paris except for four or five posts during the night, when I gave forty; but they universally *begged* for two or three sous more "pour boire" & in some cases I gave that trifle to get rid of their importunities; but as you will see by the post book they dare not abuse you now as they would have done formerly, even if you were to pay only the regulation. At the taverns 24 sous for the waiter is enough; chambermaids expect nothing because you pay high for your beds; at Antwerp however the chambermaid asks, & then perhaps it may be well to give a f[lorin] for your family.

G. W. E.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO HENRY DEARBORN.

LONDON, Oct^o 4th, 1805.MAJOR GEN^L DEARBORN.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 7th ult^o, & sh^d not have so soon written again, was it not for the peculiar situation in which our political affairs stand with this governm^t. I stated to you in that letter what I conceived would be y^e conduct of this governm^t in the event of a successful war against France by the continental coalition; that upon such an event, the United States might expect an attempt to recover the dominion of y^e States, or at least a maritime war for the destruction of their navigation & commerce; but in case of its ill success, or of achieving nothing of importance, that she would adopt a temporizing policy & w^d pursue in y^e mean time a predatory system upon our commerce as far as the governm^t & people of y^e U. S. were disposed to suffer it. It is to enforce this opinion that I now write to you, & that you may be persuaded of an important truth that this governm^t is not friendly to y^e U. S.; that it is jealous of y^e extent of our commerce & growing power & is coveredly pursuing the most dishonourable conduct to reduce our navigation & commerce. That our minister here is treated with neglect & his representations taken little or no notice of, w^{ch} is evident from his late note, w^{ch} ably exposes the injustice of the conduct & y^e unsoundness of the principles on w^{ch} our vessells have been lately detained & condemned, having produced no answer although transmitted a fortnight since. That this conduct must require spirited and decisive measures from our governm^t is most certain; such as should assert our neutral rights & our determination to maintain them. But how far it would be prudent for the U. S. to bring forward the principle of free ships making free goods at this time is a matter of doubt. Upon this subject we

ought like other nations to pursue our present interest, & were we to set up the principle at this time it is my opinion this gov^t would no longer permit our neutrality, but w^d force us into y^e war. On the other hand, not to insist upon the concessions she made to Russia & y^e northern powers, and not to vindicate our neutral rights, as laid down in y^e old law of nations, would neither induce the respect of this nor the other belligerent nations; and must in the end produce an indiscriminate plunder of our commerce from all the belligerents. It is under these impressions that I have written to my relation M^r Winthrop, grounded upon the event of the detention & condemnation (to a large amount) of property belonging to my neighbour David Sears Esq^r: I thôt it a good opportunity to state to M^r Winthrop & thrô him to the merch^{ts} in Boston some facts relative to the conduct of this gov^t, on w^{ch} to predicate a measure w^{ch} I believe w^d have a good effect, & very much aid M^r Monroe's representations to if not negotiations with this government. It is with this view that I have written y^e letter, & enclosed it to you open, that if it is thôt adviseable that the merch^{ts} sh^d adopt the measure therein proposed, it may be backed by letters to the same effect from persons friendly to y^e gov^t at Washington to the merch^{ts} in different parts of y^e U. S.; but if the letter to M^r W. or the measure it recommends on the facts stated sh^d not be thôt well of by you or by the friends of y^e administration, you have my liberty, & I shall be much obliged to you, to destroy it. But sh^d you approve the proposed measure, I shall be obliged to you to seal & transmit the letter by the first opportunity.

I expect to set out for Paris y^e beginning of next week, having waited here for a passport longer than I expected. Make my most respectful regards to the President & to M^r Madison, & believe me, with much esteem, d^r Sir,

Your most obed^t serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

GEORGE W. ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

BAYONNE, Oct. 9, 1805.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN.

MY DEAR SIR,—When I was on the point of leaving Paris I had the pleasure to receive your letter from London respecting a passport enabling you to land at Calais. Having no connection with the French authorities I could not promote the object by my personal application to them, but immediately waited upon Gen^l Armstrong, who assured me that he would do every thing possible to obtain the permission desired; & he did not doubt as the motive for the strict prohibition which has hitherto subsisted does not now exist that he should succeed in his application. I hope therefore that this will find you in Paris & perfectly restored to health. I wrote to you a long letter from Paris which I forwarded to Rotterdam & desired M^r Alexander to keep till your arrival there, but have since advised him that you did not intend to pass thro' Holland, & it will therefore have been forwarded to you in London. Having been detained in Paris some days longer than it was my intention to stay, & having rested at Bourdeaux three days for the purpose of giving time to M^r Lannes, the agent of M^r Lee at this place, to prepare the necessary means of conveying me to Madrid, I did not reach Bayonne till yesterday; and here I am obliged to submit to a farther delay of three days on account of the great demand for & the scarcity of carriages. None of those belonging to the town are now here & travellers are obliged to wait for those which may accidentally arrive from Madrid. My landlord (at the Hotel de S^c Eutienne) is advised of one which will be here the day after to-morrow, that I am to have, so that in about fourteen days I hope to be at Madrid. I have written to-day to M^r Pinkney, & have also written to Consul O'Brien

& transmitted M^{rs} Bowdoin's letters to the ladies of his family, & M^r Sullivan's letter to M^r Dickenson. To guard against the delays which I have been exposed to, it would be better for you to write to M^r Lee from Paris desiring him to direct his agent to procure carriages by a certain given day when you can calculate upon arriving at Bayonne. You must not bring your own carriages, for there are no means of conveying private carriages from this to Madrid; it would be better to hire your carriages at Paris for the whole rout to Bayonne rather than for Bourdeaux as you will get them at a more reasonable rate; but if you should not find it easy to make that arrangement, good carriages may easily be had at Bourdeaux; I gave 7 louis for my cabriolet to Bourdeaux & 2½ louis for another to this place, but that from Paris was charged too high owing to the great demand at that time for carriages of every description to go to Strasbourg. The best road to Bourdeaux & by far the pleasantest lays thro Orleans, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, & Anguilomme. As far as Orleans it is not bad & from thence to Bourdeaux (at least in this season) the greater part is excellent, & you will be gratified in finding that nearly the whole is unpaved; between Orleans & Bourdeaux you will not probably pass more than 30 miles of pavement. The inns & accommodations every where are comfortable, the horses unexceptionable & the postillions much better than in the north of France. You will probably travel more leisurely than I did, (sometimes I have been 14 & sometimes 20 posts per day) & therefore you will not stop at the same places; & I am not certain that in the places I did stop at that I went to the best taverns; however, you cannot fail in this particular to meet with good accommodations by enquiring of the persons who keep the barriers (& not of the post boys) who are all respectable citizens, for the best hotel in the places you propose to rest at. By leaving Paris early in the morn-

ing you will be able to reach Orleans, & there probably you will be induced to pass a day. I was recommended to the "Three Emperors," certainly not an imperial hotel, & I should think that such a place as Orleans may furnish a better. I cannot give any particular recommendation of that. If you rest a day at Orleans, you will be able to reach Tours from thence in one day, tho as the road is most delightful on the banks of the Loire, you may probably stop at Blois, which I did not. As to the "Ball d'Or" at Tours, I can say the same only as of the "Three Emperors," if this is the best inn, it is a pity they had not a better. Poitiers is an old town which has nothing but a fine situation to recommend it; Angoulomme I did not enter, but it is worth a day's delay as I am told. At Bourdeaux you will stay a day at least. M^r Lee, who is extremely hospitable & attentive, insisted upon my going to his house; if he does not do so with you it will be because it is impossible for him to accommodate a family. I recommend therefore the "Hotel Furnel." From Bourdeaux, instead of taking the road to this place thro Montmarsan, which is very bad, I went thirty miles about for the sake of one *not quite so bad* thro Pau; if you go to Pau I recommend the "Three Cantons." I proposed this further advantage in going to Pau, that of obtaining the best view of the Pyrennes & the "Pique de Midi" & from thence having a ride on the banks of y^e Dave similar to that which I found on the Loire; in the first object I was fully gratified, but in the other wholly disappointed: yet from all I can learn of the Mont-Marsan road that thro' Pau is much preferable. I was extremely tempted to go as far as Banniers, which is only half a days ride from Pau, & is described to be one of the cleanest & best, as well as the finest situated towns in France, but I thought that to throw away two days upon an object of mere gratification could not be justified, so I pursued my rout to this place.

Present me respectfully to M^{rs} Bowdoin & believe me,
my dear Sir, with sincere respect & regard

Very faithfully, your o^b s^t.

GEORGE W. ERVING.

You will not, I presume, be without a post book, which is absolutely necessary on y^e road; & as there have been some late alterations in the laws, you will procure that which is printed in the year 14.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, Nov. 3^d, 1805.

G. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — I with pleasure acquaint you of my safe arrival here in good health the night before last, after much disappointment, fatigue & vexation from an eight days voyage from Engl^d to Rotterdam, & from a fatiguing journey by land, which seemed like running a gauntlet among thieves from the number of abuses w^{ch} occurred upon the road. We are at length here, & I have seen our minister & have had some conversation with him upon the subject of our affairs, but it has not been so satisfactory as I c^d wish. I expect to see him again to-morrow, and shall endeavour to penetrate into y^e actual state of our affairs as far as I shall be able thro^h him and other channels w^{ch} may be found here; I shall however do it with all scrupulous delicacy, having reference to the situation & character of the resident minister. I shall write to you again in a day or two, & will be as particular as prudence will allow. I understand that dispatches have gone on to Madrid dated on y^e 17th of June last, the proposition they contain I have become acquainted with, altho^h I have not yet read the dispatch, w^{ch} is in cyphers & will be communicated to me probably to-morrow: let me know your opinion of it, & whether it

will be worth while to suggest it to y^e Spanish gov^t. I have not yet made up my mind in respect to continuing here, althô it was M^r M——'s opinion I had best continue here untill I sh^d hear from the gov^t or sh^d receive its further instructions. I shall be governed untill that event by what I shall find is likely to be obtained from continuing here. I believe, that something might be done if A should be found to be fully disposed to use his best endeavours to co-operate with me here; but of this I shall write you more fully in my next. At present I am to acquaint you that I left your father well on the 14th ult^o, althô he had had a slight indisposition from spitting of blood for a day or two w^{ch} had subsided & had left him much better than he had been even before. Our friend M^r Munroe & also his family were well; he had presented his long note w^{ch} I believe you saw & it had produced no answer; and he has since written a short one intimating his having leave to return home, w^{ch} he had thôts of doing this fall if an opp^{ty} offered, & y^e objects of his several notes were satisfactorily fulfilled. The last note had been presented two days before I left Engl^d & had produced no answer. When at Antwerp on my journey here M^r Ridgeway acquainted me he had rec^d acc^{ts} of ten of our vessells being carried in since I had left Engl^d, althô when I left it, there appeared to be a disposition to recede from the high ground w^{ch} had been taken & to revert to the principles established before the late injurious decisions. I think it probable however that the late successes of y^e French will prove a better argument in favour of our neutral rights than any that c^d be suggested at this time by our minister. M^r Pitt stands on slippery ground, & when heavy subsidies are known to be flung away upon defeated armies of an unpromising coalition it is not improbable he may be again induced to retire, to give an opportunity to some Addington or other to make another disgraceful peace. *Things however dont*

look so prosperous here as I expected. I have written this letter in haste & without taking a copy of it, w^{ch} I shall continue to do while I stay here in order to write to you the oftener & to acquaint you with circumstances as they may occur, expecting that when I meet you that I may see them destroyed. Believe me upon the present & all occasions

Very sincerely yours.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

Write to me here à l'Hotel de la Grange Bataliere. My family all desire to be remembered to you.

GEORGE W. ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

Private.

Nov^r 19th, 1805.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you a letter of five sheets on the 29th ult^o, containing such information & suggestions as I thought might be useful on your journey hither. I have now the satisfaction to receive yours of the 3^d inst^t from Paris. By this I am sorry to observe that my former letters, viz., those of Sep. 8 from Rotterdam & of Oct. 9th from Bayonne have not reached you. The latter was sent to Paris, under cover to Gen^l Armstrong. My last (of 29th ult^o) inclosed several letters from Boston for you & some for M^r Sullivan. I have not been able to keep copies of the letters referred to, yet if you should not finally receive them previous to your leaving Paris I shall again endeavour to collect from my memoranda whatever may be of service to you on your route to Madrid.

* The passages in this letter which are in figures were deciphered by Mr. Bowdoin, who wrote the transliteration over the figures. In printing the letter we have placed the transliteration in brackets immediately after the corresponding figures. — Eds.

With respect to the communications which you refer to, my experience concurs entirely with yours. It is so delicate a subject that I could not before, nor can I now, enlarge upon it. The apprehension also may be unfounded, yet I have been so well convinced on this point, & so apprehensive that the public interests might be prejudiced by such unworthy motives, that I have very candidly opened my mind to M^r Monroe. My letters and the notes from my commonplace book I shall have an opportunity of shewing you by & by. I am sorry to see that the conclusions which I drew from my own observations are so much confirmed by yours. Nor can I be (as I have told M^r Monroe) at all of the opinion upon which this management *pretends* to be grounded. There are the strongest reasons why this should be the theatre. I have, & shall still continue to conduct myself accordingly.

I have found the important letter from M^r M. of May 23^d referred to in my last, but am without the means of unlocking it. M^r P. has either carried off or mislaid the cypher! I have not yet heard from him in answer to the letter which I wrote upon the subject, & a letter which M^r Young also has written remains as to this point unanswered. General A. must therefore decypher it for you, & you can send it to me in * M^r Monroe's cypher.

You mention that dispatches of June 17th have come hither, but I have not received them or any other from our government. If they arrive probably all that is most important will be in M^r Pinckney's cypher. I beg you therefore to send me a copy of the letter putting yours to me under cover to Mess^{rs} Patrick Joyes & Son, bankers.

I shall as you desire preserve your letters & deliver them over to you again, & hope that you will make me full & frequent communications.

* General Armstrong's in the original text of y^e letter.

You will best determine as to the time of leaving Paris, but my opinion certainly concurs with Mr Monroe's, & in the presumption that this line of conduct was fixed, I have given it to be understood that you will not move 'till directed expressly to do so. You see therefore that a great effect, & probably a prejudicial one, would be produced by your coming hither at this time; but you will determine how far it may be prejudicial, and also what course our government will expect from you in consequence of what you & Mr Monroe have written. I still find that the considerations on which that policy was founded were just, & in the same view have mentioned in proper places that even my own residence is but from day to day.

I fear in fact that the British aggressions do still continue. You will conclude that the result of the late meeting of the combined fleets is not likely to lessen the evil. Mr M's part is a delicate one, but I sincerely hope & believe that he will not move from his station. I have lately written to him at large & transmitted a document with some information which may *possibly* be useful. I inclose herewith a copy of the paper referred to; you will at once see its object & calculate whether it will produce any thing. It may be well otherwise not to communicate it. It has not yet been answered & probably will not be. I will not fail to transmit the result to you & to Mr M.

I shall write to you fully on every thing which may appear important or which you may be desired to be informed of.

My dear Sir, with sincere respect & regard, very faithfully,
yours.

GEORGE W. ERVING.

The two inclosed letters from Boston I have received to-day. Present me very kindly & respectfully to Mr Bowdoin, to Miss Sarah, & to Mr Sullivan. The last

mentioned not least in my consideration. I congratulate you most cordially in the restoration of your health, of which I was informed by a letter from my father of Sep. 17.

Postscript. Nov. 19th, 1805. At night. Private.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since writing the inclosed I have received yours of Nov^r 6th in M^r Monroe's cypher (which I am glad to find that you have). I do not observe any thing in this which alters my opinion upon the point referred to in the first & second page of the foregoing. The same language, it appears, is held to you as I heard myself. I need not tell you that you will be assailed by spies as well as by all those who have personal views to promote. I differ altogether with 686. 382. 1595 [Armstrong] & remain firmly in the belief that 184 [his] negotiations upon the subject are not essential; but a shorter & much more effectual way than any referred to of settling these difficulties is that, which as it appears by the extract inclosed in yours (& which I put full faith in), our government is about to take pursuant to the representations made by M^r M. With what success or to what advantage can we expect to negotiate with 1308. 501. 430 [baseness] and 675. 699. 584 [apathy] on one side & the most 1307. 501. 304. 520. 1046. 947. 1433 [barefaced corruption] on both. I shall not hesitate therefore candidly & freely to give you my opinion that absolutely nothing should be attempted. I would not even open my lips upon the subject 'till the orders of the government arrive. They ought here & there distinctly to understand that our government has done every thing possible to effect an accommodation, & that if they do not change their policy in time to arrest the blow which impends, theirs will be the fault, not ours. That as to money in any shape or to any extent, it is not to be thought of, that we must have more consideration for our own honor than for their wants, that we must, in fine,

act a part becoming the dignity & independence of our country, & fulfil the expectations of the whole world by dissipating the illusions which these people have formed to themselves, that our pacifick system can never be changed by any outrages however violent or by any insults however offensive. Previous to Mr Pinckney's departure he did every thing possible to have the convention ratified, but without effect. As mentioned in my letter of the 29th ult^o, nothing has been done, or is it to be expected that any thing will be done 792. 1399. 1229. 637 [by this government]. A 1342. 496. 161. 262. be 382. 1032 [blow must be struck] which will 680. 937. 501. [arouse] it from its 699. 1252. 1241 [lethargy] & convince 992. 1384. 1164 [France that we] are no 888. 1300. 569. 1310. 756. 963. 801 [longer to be trifled with] with before we shall be able to 426. 501. 1190. 674. 219. 1302. 1335. 1440. 653. 1576 [negotiate with any probability of] success. I can give you no adequate idea of 1399. 1229. 637 [this government] the most absolute 384. 1085. 467. 546 [subservience] is here added to an 1418. 357. 673 [ignorant] and 208. 1158. 1300. 937. 213. 809 [preposterous pride] which still hangs about 1386. 1362. 1361. 1379. 520. 1231. 401. 809. 490 [their tattered grandeur]. 1393 [They] have no 264. 1067. 636. 352. 1102. 756. 922. □. 352. 982. 352. 148 [statesmen, no force, no money].

In reply therefore to the postscript of your letter, in conformity to what I have before said, I can only answer that my own opinion is decidedly in favor of your staying in France. As to a winter's journey from Bayonne hither, I see no reason to apprehend any thing, if it should be necessary for you to set off in the winter. The winters here are moderate, not tearing up the roads with frost & wet as in our country. The road as far as Burgos, however, could not be injured by any winter; it is for the distance probably as fine a road as any in Europe; & from

Burgos thro' Valladolid (which rout I did not go) I am told that it is equally good. You will be one or two days longer in coming at that season on account of the shortness of the days only; but if you will go to the expence of having relays of mules placed on the road, which is sometimes done, you may get from Bayonne in five days. The relays must be had here, as I believe that the expence will be about 3 times greater than in the ordinary mode. This you can consider of. My last contains particular information respecting every other circumstance relating to this journey. I do not think that it will be necessary for you to bring any furniture with you from Paris, in addition to what you have at S^t Ander. The houses here are not very elegantly furnished, & the cost of importing furniture will be immense. I am told that iron utensils for the use of the kitchen are not to be had here, but those if you chuse to have them can certainly be procured at Bourdeaux.

I am, my dear Sir, with sincere respect & regard,
Yours fait^r.

G. W. E.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.*

PARIS, Nov. 28, 1805.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have written to you two letters from this city, the last of y^e 6th ins^t, under cover to Snres. Filipi Viol^o Ravara y Hijo, to whose address I shall cover this. I have not yet heard of your safe arrival at Madrid, hope no accident has happened to you, and that you have had an agreeable journey, been introduced to y^e gov^t, & found every thing refering to your reception quite agree-

* Numerous passages in Bowdoin's letters to Erving are in cipher. Usually these passages were deciphered by Erving, and the words for which figures were substituted were written over the figures. In printing these passages we have inserted the words in brackets after the figures, both as a matter of convenience and to avoid possible mistakes. — Eds.

able & satisfactory. I still remain here, not able to do any thing, nor to ascertain what had best to be attempted in y^e present conjuncture. I believe it to be a good rule in most cases to attempt nothing without a good prospect of success. It is unfortunate, however, that I have been obliged to skrew & to wire-draw to procure y^e least information of y^e most simple facts refering our disputes with Spain from those whose duty it has been to have furnished me in y^e most prompt manner with every fact in their power. It has been y^e prevailing 906. 1576. 934. 21. 178 [opinion of our minister here] that I sh^d 497. 1440. 178 [wait here] for 1385. 849. 271. 999. 934. 1229. 637 [the dispatches from our government] which ought to give 746. 897 [reply] to the 225. 917. 1401. 565. 1067 [propositions] he has forwarded, althô 1385. 225. 917. 1401. 565. 1067 [propositions] themselves I have not yet seen, and it was last night only that I rec^d y^e promise of 1501. 1045 [a copy] of them, under very particular injunctions that I sh^d shew them to no one! I beg you to write to me under cover to Mess^{rs} Hortinguer & C^o by y^e first opp^{ty} & let me know what your situation is, & whether any thing is likely to turn up which shall render my presence necessary at Madrid before I may receive intelligence from y^e U. S. The British gov^t, it seems, has taken a very decisive line of conduct respecting our neutrality. It is said that S^r W^m Scott has published a pamphlet w^{ch} puts an end to all doubt upon this subject.* It is intended to prepare the nation for the measures settled in y^e cabinet. The pamphlet is brôt here by a Dutchman married to y^e daughter of S^r Fra^s Baring & who is one of y^e h^{so} of Hope & C^o. What are his precise motives in coming here is not known, or whether it has reference to y^e money projects w^{ch} are to heal our disputes wth Spain. The determination

* The pamphlet here referred to was not written by Sir William Scott (afterward Lord Stowell), but by James Stephen. See a notice of him by his grandson, the late Sir Leslie Stephen, K. C. B., in Dictionary of National Biography, vol. liv. p. 162. — Eds.

1576. 934. 1229. 637 [of our government] respecting y^e 148 [money] project has been expected for some time past. Could we by any means sepearte 934. 848. 494. 1067 [our disputes] from the influence of these 148. 586. 416. 1300. 1067 [money lenders], or if no proposition on this subject had been forwarded to 934. 1229. 637 [our government] we might hope under existing circumstances thrô our disputes with G. B. to bring our affairs to an amicable adjustment, but nothing can be looked for from this 1229. 637 [government] or, I fear, from the 255. 1438 [Spanish] untill this 225. 917. 1440. 1433 [proposition] is finally disposed of. If it is asked whether 1361 [Talyrand] had not better be written to, & y^e critical state of our affairs wth y^e British cabinet made known to him, the reply is that 1361 [Talyrand] will demand 934. 205. 106. 1067 [our power commits]. It is rejoined that 167. 1426. 24. 1433. 1067 [my instructions] by the general expressions contained in them w^d be adequate to y^e purpose. This is questioned & it is finally insinuated that gen^l 1426. 24. 1433. 1067 [instructions] would have no weight with him, especially 1501. 225. 917. 1401. 565 [a proposition] had been sent to y^e U. S. & is not replied to! This project will probably stand in y^e way of every plan of adjustment w^{ch} can be proposed, & when it is disposed of it is probable that other views & considerations will have their weight, but not till then.

The writer of y^e pamphlet aforementioned aims to establish y^e position that neutral commerce is war in disguise, & that it sh^d not be allowed! and recommends y^e adoption of y^e measures pursued towards neutrals, particularly the Dutch in y^e year 1756. That no nation except y^e U. S. w^d have an interest to interfere, and that to permit y^e neutrality of y^e U. S. upon its present principles was more injurious than their commerce was beneficial. That in case the restrictions should be resented & they sh^d produce war that they had nothing to fear from

a nation without troops or ships, energy in its gov^t, or means to annoy the British commerce or nation in any way. That y^e nation had to apprehend but a temporary suspension of y^e vent of their manufactures for a short time, w^{ch} peace w^d restore with accumulating advantages. In short, y^e whole scope & design of y^e writer is to promote an open rupture with y^e U. S. Our merch^{ts} by y^e last acc^{ts}, up to y^e 17th of Oct^o, have suffered great loss from y^e capture of our vessells, & were extremely clamorous agst the British gov^t, and I expect nothing but to hear of increasing depredations, & that y^e pacifick maxims of gov^t will be relinquished from y^e necessity of y^e case. I am promised a sight of y^e pamphlet & shall give you further accounts of it after reading it. I have seen a lett^r from M^r Williams, late consul at Lond^o. He mentions that y^e English continue the depradations, &c^a, & WILL. M^r Dickason in a letter to me observes to y^e same effect. Step. Higginson, y^e Perkins's, Sears, & others have met great losses. I have seen Boston newspapers to y^e 17th Oct^o. Gov^r McKean is re-elected, to y^e mortification of T. Paine. Duane, &c^a. The Presid^t has called together y^e heads of departments to consider what measures sh^d be pursued, or recommended to Congress at y^e next meeting. Our papers are filled with rancorous abuse of y^e adminisⁿ for its puslanimity & cowardice. Strokes are levelled at Mess^{rs} Livingston & Monroe, and we shall be fortunate if we escape. Endeavour to ascertain if possible whether y^e principal negotiations will be carried on here or at Madrid, and what weight 256.* will have in y^e management of its own 849.†

I have not heard from y^r father since my arrival in Paris. M^{rs} B., Sarah, & M^r Sullivan join me in regards. I have rec^d letters from Boston to y^e 31 Aug^t. Our friends were well.

Believe me always very sincerely yours.

J. B.

* Spain. — Eds.

† Dispute ? — Eds.

P. S. The Emperor's successes surpass belief. He has not only beaten Austria out of y^e field, but has provided for y^e civil gov^t and has admitted Hungary to a separate peace; * y^e Prussian minister is at Vienna conferring upon y^e subject of a treaty; whilst Kosiuskio & y^e Polish officers are gone to Poland, w^{ch} is reorganized under y^e guarantee of y^r Emperor. In short y^e coalesced powers seem to be completely done up.

Dec. 4th. I rec^d your letter of y^e 29 Oct^o to y^e 7th Nov. at Gen^l A——'s while I was at dinner on y^e 29th, w^{ch} induced me to detain y^e foregoing. He has been more communicative than he was, & promised me a sight of his despatches to our gov^t; but they have not yet been shewn. Make y^r own comments. I w^d not do injustice, nor give you a wrong impression, & I am willing to believe we shall still harmonize, but his conduct has an odd appearance. I have rec^d late letters from Boston, & one from y^r father of 12th of Nov^r only yesterday. He desires me to mention to you that he has rec^d your letter No. 4 & also of y^e 7th & 10th from Bayonne. Your father is impatient to hear of y^r arrival at Madrid. I acquainted him of it by a letter I wrote to him yesterday by M^r Sullivan's brother who sets off for Engl^d this day. He says he shall not write to you again untill he hears from you at Madrid, & desires me to acquaint you that he does not find himself so well in health as when he left me; he says he is under y^e hands of his doctor & y^e nauseous discipline of pills & plaisters. The approaching winter, he says, makes him fear that without great care he will not be able to keep y^e ground he now holds. By letters from Boston, as also from Lond^o we are to apprehend an open rupture wth G. B. My reasons for this opinion I shall give you in my next, w^{ch} I shall write to you in a day or two. In y^e mean time, believe, very sincerely yours. J. B.

My next will more particularly reply to y^r last letter.

* This proves unfounded.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, Dec. 5, 1805.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you Nov. 28, but having occasion to detain y^e letter I added a postscript & forwarded it yesterday. I write to you now with a view of stating some gen^l facts & replying to y^r letters of y^e 29th of Oct^o to y^e 7th ult^o & also to yours of y^e 19th. As y^e prospect of war between y^e U. S. & G. B. must produce a most important influence upon the measures of France & Spain relative to y^e U. S., I think it best to let you know y^e facts relative to this subject on both sides. The capture of our vessells by British cruizers have been carried to an unexampled length, and by y^e last acc^{ts} in no way remitted. That y^e orders of 1793 are re-issued and are probably enforced with great rigour upon our coast & in y^e West Indies; & one privateer alone has detained no less than ten of our vessells in England. That this measure has arisen from no accidental cause is evident from y^e conduct of y^e British cabinet in respect to M^r Monroe & from S^r W^m Scott's late pamphlet avowing the determination in a manner to set up y^e principle, to pursue the practice & to take y^e consequences of y^e measure. His pamphlet goes to y^e excluding our vessells from carrying the produce of y^e East or West Indies to Europe under any pretence; & he asserts that nothing short of this will remedy y^e evils w^{ch} arise from our neutral commerce. The facts upon w^{ch} he grounds y^e necessity for y^e measure are very lengthily detailed & very abusive of our citizens; whilst he takes occasion to compliment y^e English prize-courts as y^e very sanctuaries of justice! These facts taken by themselves point directly to unavoidable war; unless hostilities are permitted on one side & not retaliated on the other. The part of Sir W^m's pamphlet w^{ch} points to y^e determination of y^e British gov^t to interdict our commerce to Europe in

y^e productions & goods of y^e East & West Indies has been translated & sent to y^e Emperor, & it is probable, will produce a favourable effect in our measures with Spain. But when or how I know not. On the other hand, the great successes of y^e Emperor, who it is said has already broken up y^e coalition ; and it is confidently asserted that y^e ministers of Russia, Prussia & Austria are now conferring upon a continental peace, w^{ch} is expected in a short time. Sh^d this report prove true, I sh^d think M^r Pitt would hardly chuse to make an open enemy of y^e U. S., but w^d prefer perhaps indemnification or a new treaty like that of M^r Jay's. Upon the side of our gov^t Gen^l A. shew me two letters, one from Gen^l Smith & y^e other from Gen^l Mulenburg both breathing y^e most lamblike patience ! but in justice to them, they were not in y^e full possession of y^e depredations w^{ch} had been committed, nor of y^e principles w^{ch} actuated y^e British cabinet. Our unsettled disputes with Spain, our party dissensions at New York & Pensilvania, y^e nature of our gov^t, y^e temper of our administration, all refer to negotiation rather than to an appeal to y^e sword. But notwithstanding these circumstances y^e extent of y^e injuries w^{ch} will be sustained (taken in connection with y^e immense loss of capital & revenue) will place y^e administration in that kind of situation as to be compelled to take up a bold & spirited line of conduct. I wish our gov^t had but one object, one enemy to contend with. The hydra of faction at home neutralizing every measure ; the unprincipled motives w^{ch} govern European councils & politics and contributing to give distrust of y^e measures to be pursued towards y^e belligerents, will doubtless have a great & pernicious influence ; but I still think, that y^e administration will not suffer y^e nation to be disgraced in y^e estimation of y^e citizens and in y^e eyes of foreign nations by suffering the late inroads upon our commerce to pass unnoticed, or what w^d amount to it, to order our minister to crouch & bend to y^e British gov^t & to

crave its mercy & forgiveness! I am much obliged to you for y^r mem^o respecting y^e road & journey to Madrid. As soon as I shall determine upon the time of setting out I will inform you that y^e h^{se} & other circumstances may be prepared. With respect to y^e h^{se} I wish it may be a commodious one for our family, y^e number & particulars of w^{ch} you know, & I sh^d not be averse to paying a little back rent, if it was necessary to insure a good h^{se} in a good situation & at a price not extravagant, but you must remember the streightened salary of an American minister. The iron ware that you speak of, it appears to me, had better be procured at Bayonne thrô M^r Lannes; please to procure from him what may be really necessary & with as little expence in the purchase & transportation as you can; it w^d not answer to have a carriage to carry these things specially, if that was necessary it had best to be left to me when passing Bayonne; otherwise procure them & charge me with them or draw upon me for their am^t. With respect to y^e other objects of furniture, I think you observe that what I may want with that w^{ch} I have at S^t Ander, can be had at Madrid. With respect to a royal order, I w^d mention that I have M^r Cevallos's passport sent me in July last; but if it ought to be renewed, I c^d wish one to be sent to M^r Lee's at Bordeaux, & to accompany it with an order that my baggage might pass with^t molestation agreeably to what is generally allowed to ministers. At S^t Ander y^e custom h^{se} rec^d orders to seal my baggage to be inspected at Madrid; I shall have no objection to this mode, as it may respect the things to be sent in waggons, but with respect to y^e things we may take in y^e carriage in w^{ch} we shall pursue our journey there is a strong objection, as we may occasionally want to open our trunks. I shall not abuse my privilege by carrying any thing except what I shall actually require at Madrid or upon y^e road, & you may give y^e fullest assurances of y^e circumstance in my name. It is possible however that M^{rs} B.

may have silk or velvet to be made up in y^e Spanish fashion at Madrid. Apropos, M^{rs} B. desires you to speak to M^{rs} Bournouville on the subject of French & Spanish fashions & to know if y^e French c^t dresses are allowed to be used in Spain, & to request her to give you a description of y^e Spanish dresses so worded as to be intelligible to a Paris faiseur des robes. With respect to money I required of Mess. Willinks, Vanstaphorst & C^o to minutely understand that I sh^d not receive y^e paper currency of any country for any part of my salary & appointm^{ts}, & in consequence they have noticed y^e circumstance specially to S^{rs} Filipe Viol^o Ravara y Hijo, to whom you will apply for y^r allowance upon gov^t, as you will see by y^e copy of y^e letter sent to them. With respect to newspapers, I desired M^r Barnet to order that y^e Argos sh^d be sent to Madrid to you or to me as minister. I have not seen him since. I take y^e Moniteur, & if you think it will not be lost or can be preserved so as to be formed into a vol^e I will forward them to you from day to day: I have them already for 13 y^{rs}. I shall probably write to you in ab^t a week concerning our affairs. I have rec^d a proposal or rather y^e plan of a proposal w^{ch} will be brôt forward about that time; I don't expect much from it. Nobody knows of it but myself, of course 1401* does not. More jesuitism can hardly be conceived, there is nothing but a wish to serve our country c^d induce me to bear with such legerdemain: but time will discover y^e real motives of his proceedings w^{ch} is at present perfectly incomprehensible. Observe (I beg of you) what you may write to him & particularly not to direct any of y^e letters for me to him.

* I. (Izquierdo.) Eugene Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun was born in Saragossa, and received an excellent education under the direction of Comte de Fuentes, who drew him from obscurity and opened the way for his future advancement. In 1797 he came under the protection of Godoy, afterward Prince of Peace. In 1806 he was sent to Paris to negotiate a treaty with France. The negotiation languished; but in 1807 a treaty was signed for the division of Portugal, which, however, failed of execution, and Izquierdo returned to Spain. Subsequently he held other confidential relations with the Emperor Napoleon and the fugitive King Charles IV. He died in Paris in 1813. See Nouvelle Biographie Générale, vol. xxvi. pp. 137, 138. — Eds.

Either to M^r Barnet or to Mess. Hortinguer & C^o w^d be better. I shall have much to say to you upon this subject when I see you. 6th. The Argos has been sent to you & I have p^d the bill, six months in ad^{vo}e. 1401 and I had a very plain & interesting conversation y^e last evening, w^{ch} has put it out of my power to enlarge this letter, as it swallowed up y^e time w^{ch} I sh^d otherwise have employed in writing to you. I enclose you y^e copy of y^e dispatch in cypher to M^r Monroe, y^e one w^{ch} accompanied it of y^e 16th June refered to in mine of Nov^r 6th is of no consequence to be now forward^d; it was directed to Gen^l Armstrong & rec^d wth mine of y^e 23^d to M^r M., y^e 23^d enclosed it. I have this moment rec^d a letter from M^r Alexander, mentioning that he had rec^d letters for Gen^l A. & myself from M^r Monroe, w^{ch} he sh^d send by express, if a good opp^{ty} did not soon present. My opinion is that nothing sh^d be done concerning y^e instructions of y^e 23^d of May, as we must soon receive other & further. In my next, I shall write to you concerning them, if they sh^d not be superceeded by y^e intelligence from M^r Monroe or our gov^t. But I must desist, or give up a good opportunity of writing to our gov^t, which I have not yet done since I left England. Adieu; my family desires to be remembered to you. Believe me always with much sincerity & esteem, d^r Sir,

Yours &c^a.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

M^{rs} B. desires me to repeat to you that she desires you w^d inform her respecting c^t dresses: she left in Spain India gold muslins & India plain ditto w^{ch} she brôt from America for herself & neice. She wishes to know whether it will be necessary to carry dresses from here & if so, what? & whether it w^d be necessary to have them made up? & in what fashion? as she understands that hoops are worn at court in Madrid, & that they are not here.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THOMAS L. WINTHROP.

PARIS, Dec. 20, 1805.*

THO^S L. WINTHROP, Esq^R.

MY DEAR SIR, — . . . I am to thank you for your early attention to my request in respect to y^e remittances of one thousand & five hundred, w^{ch} two sums making 1500 £ will be duely paid, as I understand from Mr Erving. It appears also by your letters of y^e 20th & 30th Sep. that y^e critical situation of our commerce had excited some alarm & y^r particular attention. You may be assured that I will give you y^e earliest & best information concerning it w^{ch} my situation may allow; what I apprehended when in Engl^d seems to be realised, i. e., that y^e British cabinet meant to combine with y^e policy & measures she was pursuing upon y^e continent agst France a line of conduct which in its consequences w^d greatly curtail if not ruin our commerce: that Russia & Sweden being engaged in a common cause with her would not be sensible or perhaps indifferent to y^e measures she might pursue towards neutrals: that Denmark was too feeble & her situation too critical to oppose her views: that y^e U. S. from their love of peace, their internal divisions, & from y^e nature of their gov^t w^d hardly dare to oppose the principles she might set up, or if they did that our hostilities w^d be feeble & of no avail agst her naval superiority. The conduct to our flag since July last must convince every unprejudiced mind, especially if taken in connection with L^d Sheffield's pamphlet & one since written, that her intention has not been less to reduce the commerce of y^e U. S. than to curtail y^e influence & power of France. The coalition was formed & projected under as many circumstances to promise success as can well be devised, not a crowned head in Europe but what

* The omitted portion of this letter relates to the management of Mr. Bowdoin's estate on the island of Naushon, in regard to which minute directions are given. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 366 note. — Eds.

was a party to it; and it is whispered, but take care how such a suggestion sh^d appear to come from me, that even Spain was to join her aid in y^e common cause: but such has been the promptitude of B-'s measures & y^e celerity of his movements that in all probability the coalition is or will be disgracefully broken up: and I expect that y^e British ministry will see too many dangers in bringing about an open rupture with y^e U. S. Our consumption of her manufactures seems to be her last hope for the preservation of her independence, and madness can hardly be conceived so outrageous as to cut off this last prop & add the permanent loss of our custom & commerce to every other difficulty with w^{ch} she seems to be threatened. But lest she sh^d persist in her error, & sh^d consider that as her situation becomes critical, a more rigid adherence to her system of restriction upon neutrals may be necessary, I will endeavour to give you such information as I have in regard to the decisions in her prize c^{ts}. M^r Monroe in his last letter to me dated in Nov^r (13) says that y^e Admiralty Judge in a late decision, in which he adverted to y^e impression w^{ch} had been taken from his former ones, w^{ch} he called erroneous, stated that a commerce in y^e productions of an enemy's colony might be lawful, if they had become a part of y^e stock of y^e neutral country, it was understood that he admitted such productions to be a part of y^e stock if they were bôt in y^e neutral country by y^e exporter, but as y^e decision & doctrine by w^{ch} he supported it turned on y^e question of y^e continuity of y^e voyage, over w^{ch} he seemed to claim an absolute controul, there is no security that he will hereafter consider that circumstance as conclusive proof; he may possibly insist, sh^d he find that restriction complied with, that other circumstances controul it & push y^e pretensions of his gov^t step by step "till y^e commerce was entirely cut up." I have an opinion of M^r Sam^l Williams to y^e same effect; so that there seems to be a

reserve in y^e conduct of y^e judge, probably responding to one in y^e cabinet, w^{ch} means in y^e event of y^e coalition proving unsuccessful to avoid an open rupture; that this is probably y^e policy may be infered from the slowness with w^{ch} y^e trials proceed, & that when they are made y^e vessells are generally acquitted; so that I apprehend, when y^e acc^o of y^e battle of Austerlitz shall have reached Lond^o y^e consequences of it will be seen & felt in a very general acquittal; that y^e cabinet will see y^e wisdom of returning to her old ground, or at least so modified as not to change y^e political posture of y^e U. S. Remember I give you this opinion confidentially, grounded upon the best facts I am able to procure here. But in y^e event of an opposite conduct arising from a real or pretended necessity to intercept y^e resources of France thro^o y^e channels of her commerce with neutrals, I think it necessary to draw your attention to an important subject at home, at your elbow, w^{ch} will require all y^e vigilance, attention & foresight of w^{ch} you are capable. This is strong & alarming language, but I think it my duty to alarm you at y^e present conjuncture. I refer to your banks, insurance companies, speculating projects, &c^a, & to your debts & credits w^{ch} may be predicated upon them. It is my advice to you to contract your business, to condence your affairs & avoid as much as possible y^e giving & taking of credit. There is a great instability in property here; and much greater may be expected from y^e revolutions & changes in gov^{ts} w^{ch} are taking place in all parts of Europe. Gov^{ts} are not susceptible of sudden change, without producing great injury to y^e properties of individuals. That you may see how individuals may become affected by sudden changes in a gov^t, conceive to yourself the situation of a holder of y^e public notes of Spain or of Austria only a few months since, & think what his present situation must be in respect to such kind of property! Let me ask you what

w^d be y^e situation of public or private credit was y^e French to make good a landing in England, when the stocks & every species of paper credit is tottering & ready to fall from its own weight. The British system of credits both public & private once interrupted by a great & general calamity at home or abroad, the bubble w^d burst & all y^e attendant evils would flow in. You are too well acquainted with credits & bank operations & y^e manner in w^{ch} they are interwoven in all commercial transactions to require me to show you how these evils could be induced or brôt about. When I consider the peculiar situation of y^e British nation, with respect to y^e war in which she is engaged, the invasion with w^{ch} she is threatened, & y^e dangers to w^{ch} she is exposed from a delusive paper medium I tremble for the consequences; no one I believe has yet attempted to calculate y^e evils w^{ch} would flow from a sudden discredit of the paper of that country by its ceasing to be a representative of specie, & its debts, credits, & commerce left without a substitute except in a consequent appreciation of the precious metals! suffice it to say, that y^e calamity would be frightful, & that y^e shock would be severely felt in every country to which y^e commerce extends; but what revolutions have not y^e present generation experienced! I don't know then how to advise you better than by telling you that considering the present state of Europe, the peculiar situation of our commerce & y^e undue & dangerous circulation of paper in our country, than to recommend to you what has been above suggested, to trim the ship, to reef the sails, & to prepare for laying to, untill y^e impending tempest shall be in some measure dissipated, or its direction be better ascertained. Keep the following hint to yourself, I have it from the best authority, that whilst y^e Spanish gov^t refuses to sell bills upon the colonies at Madrid, they may be procured from the agents at Paris to almost any am^o, & that a very

large sum has been lately purchased by a house in Holland from 3/ to 3/6 sterl^s y^e dollar. It is probably made on acc^o of y^e English East India C^o, & y^e dollars will be probably taken in y^e colonies & sent to Canton for their use. If you can turn this information to any acc^o let me know. I don't know why it w^d not answer for our merch^{ts} trading to Canton. I omitted to mention to you concerning the timber at Naushon, that it w^d be best to have it cut & sold, with all y^e necessary precautions to procure y^e sale of y^e good & bad together; & that y^e trees be so cut as to make y^e greatest quantity of timber, otherwise great loss & waste may be expected. It is y^e old & decaying timber w^{ch} ought to be first cut & y^e residue left for future growth. Among the papers left in my desk there is an unexecuted agreem^t for a vessell to be built at Naushon with y^e timber growing there; it was well digested at y^e time, & contains y^e material checks in respect to culling the timber. I omitted another circumstance respecting y^e improv^t of y^e island, w^{ch} applies strongly to all large open plains of light lands especially, w^{ch} is that to bring them into a state of good cultivation, the enclosures sh^d be lined or surrounded with trees to intercept high winds w^{ch} carry off the finer & more fertile parts of such soils. This has been found necessary to improve y^e commons & waste lands in Engl^d. I wish therefore as fast as y^e new walls shall be completed that trees may be planted by the sides of them, & that three or four small enclosures be made in different parts of y^e island in which sh^d be planted some locust trees with a quantity of y^e seed of the tree, to be kept as nurseries for this purpose. I w^d not however depend upon these alone, as y^e beech nuts & oak acorns sh^d be planted along side such walls in a furrow to be made by a plough upon each side of y^e walls at such a distance as not to endanger the walls; a brush fence I apprehend might be easily made to answer for a few y^{rs} untill y^e young trees sh^d get out of

y^e reach of cattle. Please to mention this circumstance to Mr Bullard & tell him that he must encourage as much as possible y^e growth of wood upon the skirts of y^e island, to shelter it as much as possible from y^e high sea winds. I omitted also to ask y^e state of y^e marshes, whether they are all ditched & staked, or what has been done upon this subject in regard to them? Please to reduce y^e parts of this letter w^{ch} respect y^e island to queries & desire Mr Bullard to reply to them in y^e shortest & best manner. I observe you have rented the mansion house & y^e Bunch of Grapes in State Street, & I have no doubt you have done for y^e best. With respect to y^t land in y^e rear of y^e house, if y^e money c^d be actually obtained & put out of all possible risk by being paid in hand, & can be immediately invested in public securities, I shall be willing to take thirteen thousand dollars for it, if more cannot be had; but it must be put beyond all possibility of loss, for I w^d have no deed promised or given until y^e sum be fully secured; and further that an adequate & sufficient wall sh^d be built & be forever sustained to keep y^e bank or ground of my garden in its present condition unless I sh^d otherwise choose to alter it; the fee of y^e estate to rest upon this condition or to revert in case of non fulfillment, allowing a certain time for notice to be given of its going to ruin or want of repair. Please to have y^e public securities placed to my name & a list of them with y^e numbers sent to me; as also any other w^{ch} you may buy upon my acc^o. I wish to have a brick wall eight or nine feet high to be made round my garden and for this purpose I wish you would consult y^e abutters, who w^d derive equal convenience from it, especially Deacon Phillips, as it w^d afford a good wall for fruit; after consulting them, I shall be obliged to you to acquaint me with y^e expence & what you can find it to be undertaken for. I wish also a precise plan & elevation of y^e ground in front & rear, the precise situation of y^e h^{ses} abutting, y^e shape &

elevation of y^e slopes, &c^a, as I will have a plan made here, for the purpose of beautifying it, & skreening the ground from the abutters as much as possible. Please to let me know what sales you have made of y^e eastern lands, & whether you & D^r Corey conduct y^e business relative to them to your common satisfaction, as well as to my interest. I have been about writing to y^e D^r for some time past, but my occupations have put it out of my power. I have thus, my dear Sir, replied to y^e several parts of your letters & given you such information respecting my affairs as has occurred to me at present. It only remains for me to speak of our friends & family. I observed by our late letters, that Lady Temple has serious thoughts of coming to England & that she means to embark early in the spring: I would only observe, that I am VERY SORRY to notice it, & that she will repent it & will reap both mortification & disappointm^t from the circumstance, with a certain injury to her affairs which she will find it difficult to repair. It certainly appears extraordinary that Lady Temple sh^d think of it at this time, when the prudent people in England, not tied down to y^e soil, are seriously thinking of making their retreat. The motives to that disposition are well known & I am surprised that Lady Temple does not know better how to appreciate y^e advantages of her situation than to think of it. Let Lady Temple be quiet where she is a little longer, & her remaining children will be about her from y^e inconveniences w^{ch} they must find from continuing in Europe. For my part I wish myself at home, & as soon as I can honourably acquit myself of y^e commission with w^{ch} I am charged, I shall seize the first opp^{ty} for returning. I shall write to Lady Temple the first leisure moments I have. James, I hope, is not drawing his mother into this mad scheme of coming to Europe. Tell him I have rec^d several letters from him & that I shall answer them as soon as I can find time; but that it is neither for his interest nor

for his mother's to think of going to England. Give my most affectionate regards to my sister, & tell her for once to let my advice to her be paramount to any other. M^r Bowdoin & Sarah have written to Lady T. & M^{rs} Winthrop & Eliza three letters, since they have been in Paris. Sarah makes great proficiency in French, & is much pleased with her present situation. Give my best regards to M^{rs} Winthrop & to your family generally. I have bôt a number of school books, w^{ch} I shall send to you for the use of y^r boys by y^e first opp^{ty}; but I am not yet apprized of the best opp^{ty} of sending to y^e sea coast. When I am I shall send out a few books, pictures, &c^a, to y^r care. Pray send me the size of our lowest rooms & y^r height, & such a description of y^e floors that I may send out carpets for them. Pray write to me concerning our affairs with Spain, & particularly concerning the disposition & spirit of y^e H^{se} of Rep^s in relation to our foreign concerns. In my next I hope that I shall be able to give you some acc^o of them. Remember me to M^r Sears, y^e Sherrieff, & our neighbours generally, to M^r Balch, D^r Jefferries, & all enquiring friends, & believe me with much respect & esteem, d^r Sir,

Very sincerely yours.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

P. S. I omitted to acknowledge y^e rec^t of yours of y^e 31st Aug^t, w^{ch} by some mistake happened not to be put upon file. I must refer you to my next in answer to a certain suggestion in that letter respecting our disputes with Spain. I w^d just mention to you, that M^r Sullivan, my sec^{ty}, w^d find great convenience in having it in his power to wear a military dress. It w^d give him respect & save him expence in going to court & to other public places. M^r S has served three y^{rs} in y^e Cadet C^o, & has some claim to a commission from that circumstance. I shall be obliged to you if you see your way clear to apply to y^e Gov^r to give him a commission as Major in y^e militia; and if it would give it weight you may sug-

gest that I sh^d take it as a favour. Perhaps it may be necessary that some gen^l officer sh^d appoint him as one of his aids de champs; sh^d the application be likely to fail for y^e want of this choice, I have no doubt Gen^l Varnum would upon intimation make y^e request of y^e Governour. I think y^e Gov^r must be above allowing any little party motives to operate as an objection, as it may be ultimately a benefit to y^e service to have a young man of observation to consider himself an American officer, who may be thereby induced to enquire into the late improvem^{ts} made in y^e art militaire, especially in this country. Believe me

Yours &c^a.

J. B.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, Jan. 7th, 1806.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have been in a peculiar situation here in respect to certain propositions w^{ch} have been informally made to me in a way w^{ch} I cannot as yet explain, being under positive injunctions for the present, but w^{ch} I sh^d not extend to you notwithstanding, was I not afraid to commit them to paper to be transmitted by post; but you shall be acquainted with them as soon as I can find a safe opp^{ty} of writing to you. These propositions, a long letter to y^e gov^t, with many to my private friends, have given me so much employm^t that I have not had time to write to you since that of y^e 5th of Dec., w^{ch} by yours of y^e 20th ult^o I observe that you have rec^d. Your letter of the 3^d with its duplicate I duely rec^d thrô Mr Lee, & imeadiately wrote to Mess. Willinks, Vanstaphorst & C^o concerning y^e bills you had drawn upon them, & there is no reason to suppose but that they will be duely honor'd. Your letter of y^e 13th containing y^r conversation with —, &c^a, has failed, & in all proba-

bility has fallen into y^e hands of y^e gov^t. Let me know under whose cover you sent it; great care must be taken what you write, w^{ch} shall implicate or give information of y^e views or opinions of the 215. 1576. 1118.*: 1399. 1229. 637.† w^{ch} he hates, is jealous of him. When you see him again, remember to impress y^e advantages of being a land-holder in y^e U. S.; that y^e land rises very rapidly in value; and that as he owns a large tract to y^e eastward of y^e Rio Bravo you must not fail to excite his avarice by y^e advantages w^{ch} w^d immediately be derived to its value by its becoming an undisputed part of our territory. I have reasons for giving this hint. I observe what you mention of y^e news in y^e Boston Palladium, & I have no doubt of y^e measures of our gov^t becoming hostile; or in other words - that we shall take possession of y^e disputed territory in every part of it, if not of y^e Floridas at the same time to indemnify the spoliations. With respect to our disputes with Great Britain the ministry I believe has already given way. The state of y^e coalition is such that I have no doubt of the line of conduct they will take; indeed a fortnight since I saw a reserve in their proceedings w^{ch} clearly indicated that they had strong doubts of their measures & that they were evidently looking for news from y^e continent to determine whether they sh^d proceed to enforce the principles of 1756, or to return to y^e Rule of 1801 ostensibly modified but radically y^e same. I observed that altho their ports were full of our vessells carried in, yet y^e trials proceeded very slowly; y^e judge professed to have changed no opinions; the trials were frequently adjourned, but y^e vessells generally cleared; but their being no hope of resisting France but thro^t y^e credit w^{ch} she derives from y^e almost exclusive possession of y^e advantages of our commerce, there is little reason to think that when she is already crippled that she will throw

* Prince of Peace. — Eds.

† This government. — Eds.

away her principal support. No! she will succumb, & y^e next news I expect from our friend M^r Monroe will indicate different & an altered conduct towards him. The neutrality of Prussia is settled; also peace with Austria; Naples is soon to be incorporated with y^e Kingdom of Italy; and the French army for the want of employm^t will soon return to Boulogne to again alarm, if not to conquer Britain. My last dispatches of w^{ch} I wrote to you proved only a copy of instruct^s to consuls, marshals, &c^a, w^{ch} I suppose you have seen, or if not you may certainly find them in y^e hands of M^r Young. I understand I have letters from Engl^d if not dispatches from America — between this & Rot[terdam]; if they contain any thing I shall write to you concerning them.

At present I w^d only suggest to you that in case y^e proposals I have under consideration shall fail, there will only remain one line of conduct to procure y^e Floridas & a decent consideration for the spoliations, w^{ch} is to endeavour to convince y^e Prince of Peace that if we are obliged to recur to this gov^t for its friendly offices, that it must be to y^e manifest disadvantage of Spain; for the reason that whatever money shall be agreed to be paid, will be by so[me] device or other drawn into the French treasury, & from what has been suggested of y^e plan w^{ch} has been sent to y^e U. S., this will certainly be y^e case. They had better therefore save both reputation & money by treating directly with y^e U. S. without y^e intervention of this gov^t. If y^e Prince of — will agree to accept 2 millions of doll^{rs} payable at Mad^d, either in specie or securities of y^e U. S. for the Floridas, allow from 5 to 7 million of doll^{rs} for Span^h spoliations in bills upon y^e colonies, to be distributed to y^e claim^{ts} by y^e gov^t of y^e U. S., the river Colorado to become y^e western boundary of y^e U. S., unless the Prince might be acted upon [*torn*] to y^e river Bravo for the reasons before stated, I w^d imeadiately set out for Madrid & close y^e treaty without

further delay. I cannot add at present except to let me know y^e effect of this suggestion, if you sh^d think it best to make it. As I write for y^r & my convenience my letters may or may not contradict each other, but this need not be regarded for reasons before stated. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, wth much esteem,

Yours.

J. B.

I shall write to you again in a day or two.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.*

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^R.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you a lengthy letter of the 7th inst^t to w^{ch} please to be refered. I have since met the agent of y^e agent 1576. 1385. 215. 1576. 1118 [of the Prince of Peace]; so far as a man can be considered such who is empowered by him to appropriate y^e proceeds 1576. 502. 262. 668. 1170. 970 [of East & West Florida] to y^e payment of certain demands w^{ch} he has upon the 225. 448. 754. 692. 490. 653 [Spanish treasury] w^{ch} cannot be adjusted, except by a recurrence to this 229. 637 [government] to fullfill her guarantee: in this case there will be great danger that 992 [France] will take 502. 262. 668. 1170. 970 [East Florida] to her own acc^o & pay y^e money stipulated. 1385. 391 [The sum] is about 987. 648. 1576. 794. 1067 [four millions dollars]. Thus circumstanced I have rec^d 219. 1148. 1098. 565. 1067 [propositions] w^{ch} had for their object the adjustm^t of the whole business, and I am told 1501. 755. 653. 1087. 883. 1385 [treaty settling the] whole 845. 229. 1372 [dispute] could be obtained, admitting I was 539. 205. 520 [empowered] & was willing to agree upon y^e sum to be paid: how far this agent of an agent can be depended upon, whether the

* See note, *ante*, p. 261—Eds.

pretended or real agent 1525. 1576. 1385. 215. 1576. 1118 [of the Prince of Peace] is able to induce measures of such consequence & that too from an anxiety in 1385. 255. 448. 1229. 637 [the Spanish government] to provide for a particular species of debt is question of some importance as well as doubt, but as y^e 391 [sum] to which I am limited, or I shall think myself so, before I receive further 1426. 24. 1433. 1067. 999. 934. 1229. 637 [instructions from our government] is not likely to meet y^e wishes and views of y^e particular creditors in question of 138. 255. 448. 1229. 637 [the Spanish government], I think it best to proceed in such a manner as to give to y^e 255. 1438. 1229. 637 [Spanish government] such a view of y^e case as she may if possible be induced to close y^e subject of our disputes as soon as may be. In order to this we ought to ascertain what our own gov^t expects, & then what 1385. 225. 448. 1229. 637 [the Spanish government] might be induced to do without y^e interference of 995 [France] & what it might be actually obliged to do with it. With respect to the first I had made 1501. 839. 272. 1576. 1385. 1426. 24. 1433. 1067. 1576. 934. 1229. 637. 569 [a digest of the instructions of our government to] Mr. Monroe dated April 18 & July 8th, 1804, & also of y^e 23 of May, 1805. I must refer you to them, they being nothing more than to leave 1385 [the] whole 845. 229. 1372 [dispute] just as 1440 [it] then stood, only giving a free license to our vessels & citizens to have free egress & regress to & from y^e rivers & waters running into y^e Gulph of Mexico & lying between y^e Apichicocha & y^e Iberville; presuming that these instructions sufficiently expose y^e directions of our gov^t, it remains to be considered what prospect there is that y^e Spanish gov^t may be induced to close with its views & be brot into a disposition to adjust its disputes & differences with y^e U. S. Was y^e Spanish gov^t left to itself althô it is sore under y^e loss of Louisiana for w^{ch} it is probable she w^d have been

induced to have paid even more than what y^e U. S. gave France for it, yet upon mature reflection she cannot think it for her honour or interest to have 992. 569. 1430. 327. 501. 1385. 1073. 169. 628 [France to interfere in the scheme] therefore is 569. 554. 513. 545. 177 [to threaten her] with that 1430. 327. 546 [interference] & to shew her what is but too obvious that if 992 [France] undertakes it that she will expect 731. 161. 429. 864 [remuneration] in some form or other, and it seems hardly necessary to repeat to you that Mr. 880. 472. 262. 1592. 1067. 219. 1148. 1098. 585. 1067. 934. 1229. 637 [Livingston's propositions to our government] & those since made by 1208. 1501 [General Armstrong] incontrovertibly prove y^e disposition 1576. 1399. 1229, 637 [of this government] upon this subject. As to this last 1501 [Armstrong] was, for what reason I know not, laid under y^e strongest injunction 1576. 1075. 1054. 1066 [of secrecy] was required to forward them 569. 1385. 78 [to the President] instead of 1385. 826. 637. 1576. 264 [the department of State], and what is y^e more extraordinary is that he sh^d do all this without being 996. 548. 897. 569. 1385. 219. 1148. 1098. 1067 [friendly to the propositions] themselves. 1385. 219. 1148. 1098. 1067. — 684. 1384. 1385. 49. 90. 741. 1426. 709. 1092. 1535. 1034. 569. 496. 970. 668. 1541. 569. 1426. 821. 401. 1401, 26. 981. 995. 254. 1587. 1401. 864. 1067. 1426. 255. 448. 1153. 1067. 569. 741. 1426. 709. 1092. 981. 284. 1385. 1454. 897. 1429. 569. 1385. 1170. 1576. 1385. 1040. 908. 1513. 1501. 569. 736. 1426. 821. 449. 981. 255. 448. 254. 1587. 1401. 864 [The propositions are, that the U. S. should relinquish all claim to W. Florida and also to indemnifications for French spoliations in Spanish ports, to relinquish forever the lands lying to the west of the Colorado, to receive indemnity for Spanish spoliations] bonâ fide such 1426. 255. 448. 1335. 1452. 1067 [in Spanish bills] upon y^e colonies & to pay 1375. 648. 1576.

794. 1067 [ten millions of dollars] at Paris in cash or y^e public securities of y^e 49. 981. 501. 668. 496. 970 [U. S., for East & West Florida]. These are the 219. 1148. 1098. 1067 [propositions] which 1501 [Armstrong] read to me, but w^d not permit me to take a copy of them; he, however, told me that they were 1426. 1385. 1249. 1200. 1440. 1429. 1576. 1366. 501. 720. 801 [in the hand-writing of Tallyrand]. The point now to be ascertained is, how these facts, very important indeed, can be communicated without hazard 569. 1385. 215. 1576. 1118 [to the Prince of Peace] and without bringing about an eclairsissement 1190. 1366. 501. 720. 801. 668. 1385. 21. 1067. 178 [with Tallyrand & the minister here] & c^d there be a confid^{ce} placed 1426. 1385. 215. 1576. 1118 [in the Prince of Peace], I am convinced that this fact w^d have great weight with him in inducing an adjustm^t of our disputes without y^e 1430. 327. 546, 1576. 1399. 1229. 637. [interference of this government]. So far has this 44 [mediation] proceeded that 1501 [Armstrong] has several times s^d to me that he expected 875. 1452. 205. 1067 [full powers] to adjust these disputes & that he had written 569. 1366. 501. 720. 801. [to Tallyrand] upon the subject of them, since even I have been in Paris. The proceeds of this sale, as well as y^e method of transferring them 569. 1385. 1037. 301. 327. 1067. 1356. 1399. 1229. 637. [to the coffers of this government] has been suggested. The question then as far as it respects 256 [Spain] seems then to be reduced to 1594. 1149. 1175. 256. [one point, whether Spain] will put 1399. 845. 229. 1372, 1067. [this dispute] out of her own hands by w^{ch} a loss 1576. 148. 668. 746. 493. 864 [of money and reputation] must be incurred, or whether she will consent to an equitable adjustm^t of it, derive the advantage of 1385. 148. 1426. 1249. 981. 501. 668. 496. 970 [the money in hand for E. and W. Florida] whilst she will provide for an equitable adjustm^t of her 1034. 1067. 792. 1335.

1452. 1067. [claims by bills] upon her colonies, thereby settle her differences & fix an undisputed frontier between her colonies & y^e U. S. Whatever is or may be done upon this subject, it must be so managed to cause no ill blood or open dispute; & to avoid this, it must be either not noticed at all, or it must be required under the hands of 1385. 21 [the minister] that no notice shall be taken of it as it w^d bring on a warm altercation 699. 1109 [at Paris] first, 1331. 1501. 668. 1366. 501. 720. 801. 1608. 1448. 713. 1366. 501. 720. 801. [between Armstrong and Tallyrand, Parker—Tallyrand] & w^d probably stir up much strife & uneasiness, might be y^e means of putting an end to all possibility of 1546. 1002. 1338. 653. 1513. 1443. 934. 845. 229. 1372. 1067. [amicably adjusting our disputes]. Deliberate well upon these things, & take care not to involve 664. 1081. 908. 628. 908. 1385. 49. 1426. 838. 653. [yourself or me or the U. S. in difficulty] upon this subject.

Since writing y^e foregoing I have rec^d y^e Presid^{ts} speech, a part of w^{ch} I forwarded to you. The whole, I understand is to be published in y^e Argos of this day. Gen^l Armstrong sent it to y^e editor for insertion, & if there is nothing found offensive to y^e policy of this gov^t it will doubtless appear, & of course you will have it. Moderation & firmness characterize it; and it is made clear that our disputes with Spain must soon ripen into open hostility or an amicable adjustm^t. I wish you to see the 215. 1576. 1118 [Prince of Peace] imeadiately, & without attending to y^e former part of this letter to assure him in my name that I am sorry to see our affairs fast embroiling to a state of hostilities, that although I am waiting here to receive y^e directions of our gov^t, yet notwithstanding, if it is his particular wish that I sh^d proceed to Madrid imeadiately that I will do it as soon as possible, that I think it will be extremely unfortunate for the two countries to come to an open rupture when it may be safely & honourably

avoided, and that hostilities are inevitable if no redress can be obtained or negociation opened to procure it; that it is not for the honour or interest of Spain that our rights sh^d be longer withheld, or that our disputes sh^d be refered to another power.

Pray sound the 215 [Prince] upon this subject & if he 829. 1435. 271. 167. 209. 506. 699. 606 [desires my presence at Madrid], grounded upon any propositions w^{ch} come within y^e views of our gov^t that desire ought to 1310. 1448. 1101. 1361. 1078. & 1549. 297 [be kept secret; and express] sh^d be sent to me as soon as possible, & in y^e mean time 1385. 1379. 601. 1067. 1576. 1385. 755. 653. [the terms of the treaty] ought to be signed so as to leave no time for 1399. 1229. 637 [this government] to interfere. Let me hear from you as soon as possible, & send your letters to me under cover to 1307. 432 [Mr. Barnet]. Mrs. B., Sarah, & Mr. Sullivan desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, with much esteem, d^r Sir,

Yours.

J. B.

PARIS, Jan. 15, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, Feb. 3^d, 1806.

G. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on the 7th & 15th ult^e, since w^{ch} I have rec^d yours of y^e 3^d & 20th of Jan. Yours of y^e 21st & 22^d Dec. still remain due. Of course I apprehend that I shall have no further intelligence of them, except you forward me copies of them. I have very little to say at present unless to caution you agst taking y^e ground of my last letter. By some unaccountable circumstance 1208. 1501* has been extremely & unjusti-

* General Armstrong, the American minister at Paris. — Eds.

fiably reserved; & I begun almost to think that we sh^d have no confidential communications. I have reason to think & to hope for y^e benefit of our country that we shall be less reserved in future. I wish therefore that you would suspend any communications to y^e Prince of Peace on y^e subject of my last letter, untill you hear further from me, if you sh^d suppose that M^r Madison's instructions do not amount to a direction against it. If y^e Prince might wish to know y^e source of y^e information given, you may refer him to M. Ouvras, y^e fournisseur of this gov^t. With respect to Don Yrujo's having rec^d full powers to treat, I believe it must be mere evasion: he c^d not give the power of disposing of y^e Floridas to one man, & that of negotiating for y^e same object to another. Nothing it is probable will or can be done untill the propositions of y^e Prince of Peace thrô M. Ouvras shall be disposed of. This being y^e state of things nothing can be expected to be done untill we hear further from our gov^t; and it is not probable that gov^t will give further instructions untill Congress shall settle y^e line of conduct to be pursued. A vessell in twenty two days from Baltimore has arrived at Lorient, but no letters from y^e gov^t, except a few lines to Gen^l A. of no consequence. I have not yet seen y^e Emperor or M. Tallérand, but I expect to in a few days. I shall write you upon every new occurrence, & shall depend upon your doing y^e same. I have not lately heard from your father, or from M^r Monroe since y^e 13th of Nov. I have written to them both frequently. M^{rs} Bowdoin, Sarah, & M^r Sullivan desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always with great attachm^t & esteem, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours, &c^a.

J. B.

P. S. Please to excuse the above, being written in haste.

JAMES MADISON TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Feb^y the 20th, 1806.

SIR, — The letters which I have received from you since your arrival at Madrid are under dates of 25th Oct^r, 20 Nov^r, and 7th Dec^r last.

The communications made in the last relating to the general dispositions of the Spanish government and of the presiding character in its councils are not without importance, but in the actual posture of the relations between the two countries, it continues to be the purpose of the President that the reserve enjoined in my letter of the 1st Nov^r towards the Spanish government should be strictly maintained. It is deemed improper after the result given by Spain to the overtures by an extraordinary mission from the United States, that any further negotiations should be either instituted or invited on our part. The impropriety of this course is strengthened also by other considerations, particularly those arising from the Spanish measures in our neighbourhood, some of which are explained in the papers herewith enclosed.

You will find by extracts also enclosed from late communications from Governor Claiborne, that it had become necessary to put an end to the protracted continuance of the Marquis de Casa Calvo, Morales, and other Spanish agents within the country ceded to the United States. It has been the effect of an indulgence that their departure was not much sooner required. In the present crisis, and under every appearance that it was procrastinated unnecessarily, and with a view to the means of an insidious influence, the measure had become an ordinary precaution, as well as a necessary mark of self-respect.

The enclosed publications of the correspondence of and with the Marquis de Yrujo, which have manifestly proceeded directly or indirectly from himself, need no

particular comment; and the President directs that you lay them without any comment whatever before the Spanish government.

General Miranda, who arrived in this country not very long since from England, has lately proceeded from the port of New York under circumstances which have awakened the suspicions and complaints both of the French and Spanish ministers. The enclosed copies of the correspondence with the former will enable you to controul the effect of any misrepresentations which may be made of it to the Spanish government.

For the proceedings of Congress and the measures depending before them I refer to the series of newspapers which are herewith conveyed.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your ob^t ser.

JAMES MADISON.

GEORGE W. ERVING, Esq^r,

Chargé des Affaires of the U. States of America.
Madrid.

COPY OF LETTER FROM MR. BOWDOIN TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

March 1st, 1806, PARIS.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. STATES.

SIR, — I should have written to you ere this had I have had any thing to suggest to you which I could think of any importance beyond those communications which I have had the honor to transmit to you thro' the Secretary of State. By these letters you will doubtless have seen the line of conduct I have pursued in reference to my health, to my mission, and to the object necessarily connected therewith. I have suffered, Sir, much perplexity lest I might be led into some step which might

disappoint your expectations, altho' under every circumstance I felt confident, from the rectitude of your principles, of that protection which your goodness and politeness have always afforded me. Permit me, however, to say that it gives me great satisfaction to find that the public interest has not in any case been impaired or impeded by the circumstance of my going to England, to which I was compelled from the necessity of the case; and it has happily contributed to the restoration of my health, as well as to furnish me with very important facts and information refering to my mission which could not have been otherwise obtained. It gave me the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with Mr. Monroe, and of acquiring a share in his confidence which from political as well as personal motives I shall endeavour to cultivate. It gave me the opportunity of seeing distinctly the measures and views of the British cabinet, and the insidious policy it was pursuing in regard to the United States, which in different events than those which were promised from the late coalition would have shewn itself in the open plunder of our commerce, if not in a new attempt upon the independence of the U. States; but the opportunity for the attempt has failed and I trust forever, and she must now see her interest in a different policy. She must court our friendship, abandon her narrow speculative theories and must recur to the broad principles of reciprocity and mutual advantage as the best security of her own independence and commerce. The death of Mr. Pitt and the coalition of parties in consequence of it must very much tend to hasten the circumstance, and I hope Mr Monroe will be induced to keep his ground, and be the instrument of procuring indemnification for the late spoliations and of putting the commerce of the two countries upon a just and equitable footing. The same circumstance has proved no less beneficial in giving me the opportunity of seeing this gov^t at an interesting

period and to have a near view of the character who is at the head of it. Without entering into the history of the events which placed him there, his situation became not less critical from the art with which the coalition had been combined than from the force of which it consisted, and the mind is left quite astonished at the activity and skill by which it is in a manner broken up. It is a singular fact, which refers to the principal and leading measures of the British cabinet from the beginning of the French Revolution, that her policy has tended not less to increase the power and influence of France upon the continent than to destroy the force and effect of those civil principles which grew out of the revolution of the U. States, and to substitute in their stead an efficient but an almost unchecked military government which has been by fraud, craft, or necessity engrafted upon the French Revolution. The character who is at the head of it seems to have been made for the occasion and for the events which have raised him to the imperial diadem, concentrating in his own person in a manner all the legislative and executive powers of this vast empire. He found the Republic weak and indecisive, wanting force to repel its enemies from without, and wisdom, union, and energy to settle it within. This great and singular character has now become not less distinguished as the greatest general of his own or perhaps past ages, but he is found to possess great and uncommon ministerial talents and official qualifications; and it is not improbable from his genius and intense application to business that he will be found to be as much more able in the cabinet than Richlieu, Sully or Colbert, as he has proved himself superior in the field to Turrenne, Condé, and Marshall Saxe. The same activity, order, and discipline which mark his military command and the composition of his armies distinguish his ministers in their arrangement, precision, and method. He requires digests of all their proceedings, and suffers

no business to pass unnoticed or which he does not scrutinize. Talents, so various, refering equally to principles and details, equally to subjects requiring much or little investigation, accompanied with such application, industry, and unwearied attention, make him at once the wonder, the dread, and the admiration of Europe. Had France have had fewer foreign enemies, his military talents might have been less conspicuous. Had she have had fewer difficulties to contend with, fewer divisions and less discord, or have been less exhausted in her resources or less depressed in her agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, his reputation for restoring order, law, and gov^t, and for reviving industry, economy, and enterprise would have never reached its present height; and his gov^t might be thought unstable and insecure from the volatile disposition and love of change in the French character. But there is little doubt that his gov^t will prove as lasting as his life, if it should not descend to the subordinate branches of his family.

The effects of his late victories have already led to important political changes. All the states of Italy are in a manner reduced under his power, and his brother Joseph, it is said, will be shortly crowned King of the Sicilies. He has already divided the southern states of Germany into four principal divisions, Austria and Bohemia making one, which form a barrier to France upon that side, and even Prussia, it is said, has been obliged to yield some important points to meet his arrangements. Sweden and Denmark are too small to have any weight in the balance of his power; and Russia seems to be too distant to oppose it with effect; so that England may be probably left single-handed and alone to contest it. What direction English politics will take from the late changes in the ministry, and under existing circumstances whether they will tend to peace or to a more confirmed hostility, is not yet known. It is not probable that the

measures of the ministry are yet digested, if their opinions are generally agreed upon and settled.

With respect to the situation of Spain, it is so completely under the control of this gov^t that it has but the semblance of independence, and it may be considered as little more than a department of France with the Prince of Peace its prefect. Our disputes therefore with Spain may be considered as disputes with this gov^t, of which if there was any doubt before, the late requested interposition to this gov^t to interfere with its good offices to settle the boundaries of Louisiana and to adjust the differences with the U. States, must put it beyond all question. The secret propositions which have been made, and the individual speculations grounded upon them, have contributed not a little to render the adjustment of our disputes precarious and uncertain. I believe it to be obvious that whilst France and Spain are at war with England, there is a greater probability of their listening to equitable arrangements than in a time of peace. Their colonies are then of little consequence to them, and their commerce which is carried on with them must be principally thro' neutrals. This circumstance gives value to the friendship of the U. States, and must excite alarm at the prospect of their hostility. I conceive, therefore, that our disputes with Spain should be pushed to an immediate adjustment, and that no time should be lost in bringing forward decisive propositions as the alternative of peace or war. In such case, I have no doubt our disputes will be honorably and satisfactorily adjusted. It is my opinion that the Floridas may be obtained for three or four millions of dollars, provided the war between France and England should continue and that time be given for the adjustment and payment of the claims of our citizens for spoliations, not barred, as is pretended, by the convention with France in the year 1800. The Rio Bravo should be fixed as the western boundary of Louisiana, altho' subject to be

so modified if required as to be carried to the eastward, say, as far as the Collorado, upon the reduction of a specific sum for the price of the Floridas. If this sum is made considerable, it will probably prove the means of settling the boundary in the River Bravo, for the reason that the sum to be paid for the Floridas will probably rest with France, which if the war continues will be much wanted, and in that case the scruples of Spain in having the U. States so near a neighbour to their colony of Mexico, will be easily dispensed with in favor of a fair claim which the U. States have to the territory quite to that river. There still remains an indispensable stipulation, a *sine quâ non*, which must be attended to; even if the state of the treasury should not require it, which is that whatever sum shall be authorized to be given for the Floridas, that the same should be paid in the securities of the U. States. This circumstance, by affording an opportunity for private speculations, will produce all the effect and influence of *douceurs*, which it is said are openly given and received by the agents of European gov^{ts}. I shall endeavour to keep as clear as possible from measures of this sort, being neither authorized by the gov^t, nor countenanced by you, Sir.

I was introduced to the Emperor on the 23rd ultimo, and was very cordially received. He asked if our affairs with Spain were yet adjusted, and whether Mr. Monroe was at Madrid. On my replying that Mr. Monroe was in England, he said quite loud, “*Il est un fort brave homme.*” A handsome compliment, to which it is well known here that Mr. Monroe is justly entitled. Please to present my respectful regards to Mr. Madison, and to Gen^l Dearborn, and to believe me, with the highest consideration and esteem, Sir,

Your faithful & m^o obed^t serv^t.

(Signed)

JAMES BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO JAMES MADISON.

(Copy.)

PARIS, March 9th, 1806.

THE HON. JAS. MADISON.

SIR, — I wrote to you on the 7th & 27th of December and on the 17th ultimo, and still continue without your favors. I am now more particularly to acquaint you that my worthy and highly esteemed friend Mr. George Erving, Esq., of London, father of Geo. W. Erving, Esq., chargé d'affaires of the U. States near the court of his Catholic Majesty, died on the 18th January last, and that Mr. Erving received the melancholy intelligence of the event on the 21st of Feb^y, by which circumstance the necessity of the case has required him to quit Madrid to return to England. He left Madrid for Lisbon on the 25th of Feb^y; he wrote to you the day before, and acquainted you with the necessity he was under of returning to England for a short time. He has left Mr. Moses Young in charge of the affairs of the U. States, and presented him to Mr. Cevallos, the minister for foreign affairs, and engaged him to acquaint me with occurrences of any consequence which might take place.

As the adjustment of our differences with Spain has been committed to the interposition of this gov^t, Mr. Tallérand, as I am told by Gen^l Armstrong, is waiting for dispatches from the French minister to the U. States for information respecting them; but I suppose he is rather expecting the result of the inofficial propositions sent by Gen^l Armstrong to the President. It is these inofficial propositions, bottomed in my opinion upon no correct principles, refering to the interest or policy of the U. States, which have completely tied my hands, and placed me in a disagreeable situation between duty and etiquette, the one prompting me to measures which my judgment approved, whilst I am restrained by the other for the sake of keeping up a friendly correspondence with

Gen^l Armstrong. I was presented to the Emperor on the 23rd ult^o and was graciously received, but I have not as yet seen Mr. Talleraud or been introduced to him, altho' it is more than six weeks since Gen^l Armstrong and I sent him our cards. I acquaint you with this fact, as I shall with every other of any importance, refering to my mission. I have been anxiously desirous of receiving your instructions, but I conclude from your letter to Mr. Erving of Nov 1st, and from the critical situation of our affairs with England, that the President has thought it best to hang up our disputes with Spain by suspending the negotiations untill our affairs with England should be better explained.

Please to present my most respectful regards to the President, to whom I had the honor to write on the 1st instant. Please also to present my respectful compliments to Gen^l Dearborn, and believe me, with great esteem and attachment, very respectfully, Sir,

Your faithful & obed^t serv^t.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

INSTRUCTIONS COMMON TO J. A. & J. B.*

13th March, 1806. WASHINGTON.

SIR, — As soon as any authority at Paris shall be ready on the part of Spain, you will enter on the subject (of your commission), and press it to a conclusion with as much celerity and decision as circumstances will justify.

The terms stated as your guide require little explanation more than accompanies the several articles. (See the project of a conventional arrangement with explanations.) The object with the United States is to secure West Florida, which is essential to their interests, and to obtain East Florida, which is important to them; pro-

* Printed from a copy in the handwriting of General Armstrong. — Eds.

curing at the same time equitable indemnities from Spain for the injuries for which she is answerable; to all which the proposed exchange of territory & arrangement of western boundary may be made subservient.

The desire manifested by the H. of Representatives in the Resolution herewith enclosed, that such exchange and arrangement may be found sufficient without any price in money, will engage all your attention and exertions. If the exchange stated in the Resolution (with the Sabine River for our western boundary below the ridge dividing the waters running into the Mississippi from those running into the Gulph westward of the mouth of that river) can be obtained, the exchange will be satisfactory, especially if accompanied with a reasonable provision for the indemnities due from Spain to the citizens of the United States. If the exchange can be obtained even without this last provision, or without including the territory eastward of the Perdido or any pecuniary payment for territory westward of it, it is not to be rejected; but in that case it will be extremely desirable to make the authorised establishment of an interval of territory (not to be settled for a given period) subservient to a provision for indemnities.

In order to determine the price and the payment to Spain for her cession of territory, and to provide indemnities for the spoliations and other injuries for which Spain is responsible, you will add to the articles sent others proper on those subjects. For the several modifications which will best comport with the conveniency of our treasury & the sentiments of the Secretary of that Department I refer to copies of a letter & paper from him herewith inclosed; stating to you generally for your guide:

1st, that the sum to be made payable to Spain for her cession is not to exceed five millions of dollars.

2^d, that as little as possible and in no event more than

two millions are to be paid prior to the delivery of possession or the ratification.

3^d, that as ample a provision as possible be made for indemnities either by constituting a board of com^s for settling them or by a sum in gross sufficient to cover their probable amount, (which is not less than four mill^s of dollars) & distributable by the United States to such claimants and in such proportions as may be decided under their authority.

This last mode of providing for the object will be the best if the sum in gross be equal to the amount of claims likely to be allowed by a board of commissioners.

It is particularly desirable that in defining the cases to be indemnified the terms should be such as will embrace those where French subjects or citizens as well as those where Spanish subjects were the wrong-doers. If a sum in gross be stipulated, it may be expected that Spain will not object to a definition which will authorise the U. S. to apply it to both cases, especially if terms be chosen which will not expressly designate the contested French cases.

In defining the cases it will be proper to have in view those of every description which exist, more particularly depredations on the high seas & unjust or unlawful injuries within Spanish jurisdiction, whether in Old Spain or her colonies; in a word, all injurious acts either to the United States or to their citizens for which the Spanish nation is responsible according to the principles of justice, equity, treaty or the law of nations.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect & consideration,

Your most obed^t servt.

(Signed) JAMES MADISON.

GEN. ARMSTRONG.

P. S. Particular care must be taken in case a convention shall be made which does not provide for the spoliations, or for the portion of them subsequent to the

convention of 1802, to guard against an abandonment either express or constructive of the just claims of our citizens on that account.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JAMES MADISON.

GEN. ARMSTRONG.

ALBERT GALLATIN TO JOHN ARMSTRONG AND JAMES BOWDOIN.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
March 18th, 1806.

GENTLEMEN, — Having been directed by the President of the United States to place at your disposal two millions of dollars under the authority vested in him by the Act entitled “An Act making provision for defraying any extraordinary expenses attending the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations” passed on the 13th of February 1806, I have the honor to enclose a power under the seal of this office authorizing you to draw two million five hundred thousand guilders current money of Holland and equal to one million of dollars on the bankers of the United States at Amsterdam, and the other million of dollars on the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington.

An open letter to the said bankers is also enclosed, which you will be pleased to transmit to them only in case you may find it necessary to draw on them for that sum, as I have not thought it proper to give them any previous information on the subject, and have only placed sufficient funds in their hands without apprising them of the object. It will therefore be necessary that you make arrangements with them respecting the manner in which you will draw; but I believe that they will be able to answer your drafts even if they were at ten days sight. It is proper for me to add that you are not authorized to draw partially on that fund, nor for

any other object than that pointed out to you by the Secretary of State. And it will be necessary that you should inform me as early as possible whether you will draw on Amsterdam or not; as the extent of the remittance to be made by this department on account of the foreign debt will depend on the knowledge of that fact.

In relation to the drafts on the Secretary of the Treasury for the other million of dollars, you will be pleased to observe that they must not be at shorter sights than is mentioned in the power, that they must be expressed in dollars, and that they must not be negotiated under par. Letters of advice must accompany every sett, and in addition thereto, a triplicate list of all the bills should at the same time be transmitted.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Gentlemen,
Your most obed. servant.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

THEIR EXCELLENCIES JOHN ARMSTRONG & JAMES BOWDOIN,
Commiss^{rs} Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary for settling
all matters of difference between the United States & the
Government of Spain.

ALBERT GALLATIN TO THE BANKERS IN AMSTERDAM.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
March 18, 1806.

GENTLEMEN, — In my three letters of the 1st & 13th inst^t and of this day, I enclosed remittances amounting altogether to two millions five hundred & ninety-seven thousand six hundred & sixty guilders & eleven stivers, which remittances were made on account of the principal and interest of loans obtained by the United States in Holland, but subject nevertheless to such other disposition as I might think proper to direct.

I have now the honor to inform you, that in conformity with orders received from the President of the United States, I have this day authorized John Armstrong,

Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, and James Bowdoin, Minister of the United States at Madrid (who have been appointed Commissioners Plenipotentiary & Extraordinary to adjust all the differences between the said States and the Government of Spain) jointly, or in case of the death of one of them the survivor, to draw on you for two millions five hundred thousand guilders current money of Holland. You will therefore be pleased to honor their joint or in case of death the survivor's drafts on you to that amount; and as soon as you shall have received notice of their intention thus to draw to give me immediate information, in order that I may have time to replace the funds necessary to meet the demands payable at Amsterdam in 1807, on account of the principal & interest of the loans obtained by the United States in Holland.

From my view of the funds heretofore placed in your hands, I presume that you may honor the drafts of those gentlemen even before the time when the remittances abovementioned shall become due. But in order to prevent any inconvenience or disappointment Mess^{rs} Armstrong & Bowdoin have been requested to write to you and to make in concert the necessary arrangements on that subject.

† have the honor to be very respectfully, Gentlemen,
Your most obed. serv^t.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

MESS^{rs} WILHEM & JAN WILLINK, N. & I. & R. VAN STAPHORST,
Merchants, Amsterdam.

JAMES MADISON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 18 March, 1806.

SIR, — I have received successively your letters bearing date from the 18 of June to the 31st of July.

The circumstances both personal and public under which you proceeded from Spain to England, without repairing to Madrid, fully justified your conduct in the view of the President, and he has equally approved the motives for making Paris the place of your waiting for his further instructions.

These instructions are comprized in the dispatch of the 13th of March, 1806, now committed to the bearer M^r Skipwith, for M^r Armstrong and yourself, and which associates you with him in a negociation with Spain expected to take place under the auspices of the French government.

Should the negociation succeed, the President wishes you forthwith to proceed to Spain, as originally contemplated. Should it fail, or take any turn not absolutely decisive, it is his intention that you should await the instructions which such a posture of things may be thought to require.

I have the honor to remain, with sentiments of great respect & consideration, Sir,

Your most obed^t humble servant.

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r.

Minister Plenipotentiary, &c, &c.

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.*

[PARIS, March, 1806.]

GEO. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — . . . A variety of circumstances singular & unprecedented made me hope that you w^d have passed thrô Paris on your return to England; these principally respect a systemized management w^{ch} has for its object the absorption of y^e powers of my commission, and I was in hopes that you might become acquainted with the means to carry an end this honourable purpose. But

* The omitted part of this letter relates to purely personal matters. — Eds.

I trust if the governm^t pursues y^e line of conduct w^{ch} must grow out of y^e commission with w^{ch} I am charged that this kind of management will be found as ineffectual as it is foolish. I have written to M^r Monroe as I did to you when at Madrid, & have stated opinions to him grounded upon y^e best facts I c^d procure at y^e time without attending to their connection. This I have done that M^r Monroe might know y^e state of things as they occurred. M^r Monroe will doubtless shew you y^e copy of my letters to M^r Madison of y^e 7th of Dec. & 17th of Feb., w^{ch} I sh^d have sent to you at Madrid had I have had a safe opportunity, & I herewith enclose you a copy of a late letter I have written to y^e Presid^t, w^{ch} you may shew also to M^r Monroe, with whom I beg you to confer fully & freely upon the subject of our affairs with Spain, my present situation & y^e conduct & measures I ought to pursue under existing circumstances. I apprehend that it will be y^e policy of our gov^t to hang up our disputes with Spain for a time at least, untill our affairs with G. Britain shall be fully explained; and perhaps it is in consequence of this policy being adopted by our gov^t that I have not rec^d instructions from M^r Madison. If a satisfactory adjustm^t takes place with Engl^d a very decisive tone may be taken with Spain, or in case of a rupture with England an arrangement with Spain upon easy terms will be y^e necessary consequence. I conceive it therefore very important to be acquainted with y^e state of our affairs with Engl^d, & I beg you to let me know from time to time what they promise. I have not yet seen M^r Talleraud, & from what appears it is not likely I shall. I sent him my card with Gen^l Armstrong's about six weeks since, & I was taught to think that we sh^d receive an invitation to dine & that other civilities would follow of course; but no notice has been taken. The circumstance has excited some surprize. Prince Masserano expressed it to me a few days since, M^r Pichon & others & it has been suggested that I sh^d have

called upon Mr Tallerand with Gen. Armstrong upon a particular notice, but I have submitted to y^e General's etiquette in this & in every thing hitherto respecting my conduct to this gov^t. The Gen^l, I believe, is in no habits of acquaintance with y^e ministers of this gov^t, none of them visit him or seem to notice him ; & except his transactions upon y^e subject of claims for spoliations, w^{ch} has compelled to an acquaintance with the minister of y^e public treasury, he seems to have no knowledge of them ; so that you may see without much surprize that I have not much political consideration here. I have written to Mr Monroe a few loose observations respecting y^e commercial part of a treaty with England ; after I had written them I had doubts upon the propriety of sending them ; I did it however with the best views & intentions & in consequence of Mr Monroe's having suggested to me that he sh^d be glad to receive from me any opinions w^{ch} might occur to me concerning our affairs with Engl^d, & I was y^e more readily led into this step to induce his opinions upon our affairs with Spain. You will observe among your father's acc^{ts} that he rec^d two bills of exchange from Mr Winthrop drawn in my favour, one for a thousand pounds sterling & y^e other for five hundred pounds, the first had been paid & y^e other in the course of payment ; as appears by his last letter to me of y^e 22^d of Dec. last : your father lent me two hundred pounds in Oct^o by giving me his check upon his bankers to that amount, at w^{ch} time he told me our acc^{ts} were about balanced. As I mean to draw this bal^{ce}, except one hundred pounds, out of Engl^d I shall be obliged to you to acquaint me whether I can draw upon you, & to what am^o, or whether it w^d be best to have y^e money sent here. Bills on London are quoted at 23 f. 80 centimes y^e pound sterl^g. If it is yr. intention to settle in y^e U. S., w^{ch} I presume to be yr. determination, let me advise you to consolidate yr. property & get it into good hands there as far as pos-

sible. I think the dangers England is threatened with from without, & y^e effects to be apprehended from an undue circulation of paper, will make it prudent to transfer your property to some other situation. From my opinion of your father's property it must be very considerable & perfectly competent to every thing a reasonable man can wish or desire, & if you take y^e advice of a friend, who has a little experience upon this subject, you will avoid all speculations with a view to accumulation; you will find the legal interest of money upon good securities, or investments in the public stocks of y^e U. S. for your productive capital; and y^e lands of y^e U. S. from their gradual increase in value will be y^e best plan of appropriating such sums as you may not require for your immediate support; but be advised and have nothing to do with merchandizing or the purchasing of goods or vessels with a view to accumulation; you may depend that to engage in projects of this sort at this time, althô I have a good opinion of y^r intelligence & activity, will oblige you to depend upon others, will scatter your property, & perhaps put it forever out of y^r power to invest it in that way, to enable you to sit down & enjoy a respectable independence. A man who is not & cannot be at y^e beginning & end of active commercial concerns ought never to be engaged in them; and our country does not give an instance of a man's giving his name or capital to a commercial concern without personal attention when it has succeeded & been productive of profit, but examples of great loss or ruin from this circumstance are both frequent & numerous. I take it for granted that as soon as you shall have arranged y^r affairs, we shall have y^e pleasure of seeing you here, and if you can acquaint me when that will be likely I will write to you concerning some things w^{ch} I shall stand in need of. Accept my best wishes for your health & prosperity & if there is any thing by w^{ch} I can be serviceable, I beg you

to command me. Make my best regards to M^r Monroe & all his family, in w^{ch} I am joined by M^{rs} B., my niece, & M^r Sullivan, who also desire their regards to you, and believe me, with much esteem & very respectfully,

Yours, &c^a.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

P. S. M^{rs} Bowdoin wrote M^{rs} Monroe a short time since: as my niece did to Miss Monroe. Please to give our compliments to Gen^l Lyman & his family.

P. S. I gave M^r J. Sullivan a mem^o of a few things to be procured for me in England. I shall be glad you w^d take charge of them & bring them with you here.

Mar. 21st M^r Young has written to me concerning his salary, i. e., on y^e 3^d ins^t, a copy of my reply is herewith enclosed; pray instruct me what are your expectations upon this subject.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I will not omit a good opportunity of writing to you, althô I have nothing of particular importance to communicate. We still remain here without letters, news or dispatches from our gov^t, or from my particular friends. The same foolish, senseless system of reserve from our General still continues; & also y^e same coolness & neglect from M^r T. That it is intended to draw a sum of money from y^e U. S. I daily grow more & more suspicious. There is certainly no other way to account for a very observable neglect towards me in y^e members of this gov^t; besides w^{ch} the expences seem to be so excessive as to require not only all the ordinary means of taxation, but some of the extraordinary: the beautifying of y^e capital by pulling down whole streets of houses, y^e erecting, rebuilding, & repairing of palaces, the building of

bridges, y^e cutting of canals in every part of y^e country, together with every other kind of expensive improvem^t, superadded to the expences of y^e war and military establishments w^{ch} are directed not less to a superiority in land forces upon the continent than to an eventual superiority at sea, must require money & means beyond y^e visible resources of France & her dependencies. I have hitherto thôt the Emperor too politic & too much the friend of the growing prosperity of y^e U. S. to contemplate them as necessary to his power or resources, and I still hope that it is y^e case. But the increase of our commerce & wealth added to the ease with w^{ch} Louisiana was paid for, it is to be feared, may have excited a disposition towards the U. S. w^{ch} may not be easily allayed; besides w^{ch} it is generally said that the ministers of this gov^t are not friendly to y^e republican sentiments & opinions of y^e Presid^t, but affect to be better pleased with federal politics, & y^e men who support them than with their opponents. These sentiments are known to have been expressed by M^r T., who is said to hold in contempt the talents of our country generally, & says if we have any, they are to be found among the federalists: other functionaries of y^e gov^t, it is said, hold the same language; so that I think the prospect from this gov^t to adjust our disputes wth Spain do not promise much, let our gov^t give any instructions w^{ch} might be thôt reasonable. I am impatiently waiting to hear from y^e U. S. & to know my ultimate destination. When I think of y^e length of time since I left America & y^e few letters I have rec^d, I confess that I do not feel perfectly satisfied. Notwithstanding I have been nearly six months in Paris, & have written numerous letters to our friend M^r Monroe, I have as yet only rec^d one short letter from him. I am sensible there have been but few opp^{ties} of writing confidentially. Pray write me by every opp^{ty}, & acquaint me with y^e latest intelligence from our gov^t & my particular friends. Present my respectful regards to M^r Monroe &

to his worthy family, in w^{ch} I am joined by M^{rs} B., my niece, & M^r S., who desire also to be particularly remembered to you. Believe me always with very great regard, d^r Sir, very sincerely yours, &c.

PARIS, April 13, 1806.

I wrote to you by M^r Bankhead y^e 18th ultimo.

P. S. Please to give my complim^{ts} to Gen^l Lyman; M^{rs} B. & my niece desire their respects to the young ladies.

FULWAR SKIPWITH TO JAMES BOWDOIN.*

PARIS, 12th June, 1806.

DEAR SIR, — Agreeably to the request contained in your letter of the [*blank*] ins^t I shall endeavor to state in substance the conversations of M^r [*blank*] with me relative to the negociations depending here on the subject of our misunderstanding with Spain.

This gentleman, after some general observations expressive of his great attachment to the U. S. (he is by birth an American) & his persuasion of the form & principles of our government being held in great detestation by the Emperor, said that knowing how sincerely desirous I must be of seeing our differences with Spain terminated & thereby our peace with France preserved, he had come tho' unauthorized to suggest to me two avenues thro which I might derive important information of the dispositions & intentions of both the S. & F. governments, & moreover would be able to contribute much by my own personal standing here to accelerate the attainment of the

* This letter is not signed, but it is indorsed by Mr. Bowdoin "Mr Skipwith's Letter." Fulwar Skipwith was a Virginian by birth, a kinsman of Mrs. Thomas Jefferson. He went to Paris in 1794, as private secretary to Mr. Monroe, and in the following year was consul-general at Paris, and afterward agent for the American claims against France. He was involved in frequent troubles growing out of his financial transactions, and was defendant, in 1805, in a suit in the French courts brought by Major Mountflorenc. He finally returned to this country under a cloud in 1809. Shortly afterward he bought an estate in Williamsburg, Virginia, but soon removed to Louisiana, where he owned a large and valuable tract of land. In 1814 he was living on his estate at Baton Rouge, and was president of the Senate. He was afterward Governor of the State. — EDS.

two great objects of our government, which he presumed were, the purchase of the Floridas & the fixing our limits W. of the Mississippi.

I asked Mr D [*blank*] what those two avenues were, & by what means he supposed that my particular agency in them could produce an useful effect.

He observed 1^{stly} that by speaking with Mr Roux, the homme d'affaire of Mr T——d, with whom he knew I was personally acquainted, I might immediately open through him a private, safe, & direct communication with that minister; & that he wished me to name a day in which I would consent to dine with Mr Doyen (banker) his father-in-law, with whom I should meet if I chose it, Mr Es[*blank*], the only confidential political, tho not ostensible, agent at Paris of the Spanish cabinet, that if I felt an objection to communicate there & then with Mr E [*blank*] I might make Mr Doyen the organ of communication between us, he was his banker & confidential friend.

2^{dly}. With respect to my agency in the business; that this appeared the more necessary because some individuals were already fabricating projects which might deceive, or at least might not be intitled to confidence, whilst any thing thro' a person situated as I was, coming immediately from the U. S., & suspected of no unfair or improper motive, would be respected & confided in.

I begged time to make my own reflections on the propriety of my becoming in any shape an intermediary agent of intercourse with or for any person in these matters, as also of my dining under the circumstances of the thing with Mr Doyen.

You will remember, Sir, that I lost no time in disclosing to you the particulars of this conversation. You were of opinion that I might keep my ears open to communications of that nature, but that I ought not to go to any of the parties mentioned in quest of them.

It happened that on the day following I met Mr [*blank*]

in the street: I accordingly declined accepting his invitation to dine with Mr Doyen; but remarked that if he or Mr E[*blank*] had any thing to communicate to me, I would be always ready to receive them at my office.

Two days after this recontre, Mr D[*blank*] paid me another visit. He commenced a conversation by asking me if I had conferred with you on the topic of his & my former interviews; to this I gave an evasive answer; he then expressed his desire that I should, and added that tho neither Mr E[*blank*] or Mr Doyen would call on me they would be very glad to receive either directly from yourself or through me propositions, to which prompt & decided answers would be obtained from the *chif source*.

The result of this conference I immediately imparted to you, & on learning from you that you considered it injudicious & improper to enter into any communications, except with the head of the suitable department, or with persons duly authorized, I did in my next & last interview with Mr [*blank*] intimate the same to him, since which he appears to have discontinued his visits to me.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, June 12th, 1806.

G. W. ERVING, Esq.

DEAR SIR, — I am to acknowledge the rec^t of y^r favor of y^e 4th of Apr. & 5 of May; y^e latter I rec^d yesterday. I wrote you on y^e 29 Apr. & 6 May, w^{ch} I am sorry to observe you did not rec^e before you quitted Lond^o for Madrid; or I think you must have taken Paris upon your return. Mr Skipwth brôt me a short letter from Mr Madison, approving my conduct in going to Lond^o & stay at Paris, & referring me to a commission associating me wth Gen. Armstrong, for y^e purpose of treating with ministers to be appointed by Spain relative to the territories, &c^a, & to spoliations; &

prohibiting me from further communication with y^e Spanish gov^t until y^e arrangem^{ts} contemplated sh^d have their full effect. The commission is jointly & severally, &c^a, & y^e instructions have relation to this distribution of powers, w^{ch} in my opinion is very ill suited to y^e present state of our affairs. My communications wth Gen. A. are carried on by writing; & no harmony subsists between us; particulars I cannot commit to writing. I have sent M^r Sullivan to Engl^d to let M^r Monroe know y^e state of things, & I have written very fully to y^e President. It is really unfortunate that you did not take Paris in yr. way to Madrid, as you must now rec^e yr. information under other disadvantages than those of my being a party. M^r Tallerand is made a Prince & holds his office as minister no longer than a proper man can be found to fill y^e office of minister of the interior, to replace M. De Champeney, who will in that case become minister for foreign affairs. If this change shall break up the intrigues of the stock-jobbers thrô that office, it will be very fortunate; the affairs of our country are much embarrassed & a situation more perplexing than the President's can hardly be imagined. It is owing to y^e want of decision & not meeting y^e situation of our affairs with a becoming spirit in proper season, that is at the close of M^r Monroe's negociations at Madrid, that is y^e source of our embarrassm^{ts} with France & Engl^d. With y^e latter, I hope our differences are in a state of adjustm^t, but y^e last acc^{ts} from N. York give us very unpleasant acc^{ts} of y^e conduct of y^e British ships of war before that port. The Argos of this day & y^e Gazette de France of yesterday will give you y^e particulars. I have y^e opinion, that y^e British cabinet must yield to a just & equitable arrangem^t wth y^e U. S. if we have spirit to require it: no ministry will be able or willing to take y^e responsibility of repealing y^e Navigation Acts & other restrictions upon our commerce but when y^e most obvious necessity shall

require it, & y^e present is a time when *no principles* sh^d be relinquished on our part. The English, shut out from almost every port upon the continent, & having in a manner but one principal market remaining for her manufactures, is a state of things w^{ch} must make her yield to equitable propositions, & I hope none others will be listened to. M^r W. Pinkney of Maryl^d is associated with M^r Monroe & it is s^d is momentarily expected in Engl^d. Nothing is likely to be done here. M^r Gallatin's arrangement^s for paying for the Floridas do not admit of jobbing; & I suppose that some scheme is devising to see if our gov^t will not disgrace itself by a further accommodation to y^e views of y^e stock jobbers. Depend upon it that things are ripening to a very important crisis; and y^e U. S. will in spite of their apathy be brôt to take very decided measures. The Prince of Peace has got, I understand, a real minister here, the P. of M. is said to be only y^e ostensible one: his name is *Isquierdo*; endeavour to know his character, influence, & situation. Whether he is meant to check or to encrease the dependence upon this gov^t great pains have been taken to draw me into a private communication; but I have refused all except with y^e minister. Sound the Spanish gov^t (remember I consider nothing official in sounding) upon the question of exch^a of territory without price, i. e., part of Louisiana agst East & W. Florida, [acre?] for acre, making the river Bravo or Del Norte y^e western boundary of Louisiana; or how it w^d answer to bring the boundary of Louisiana with full right to settle immediately to y^e eastern bank of that river, upon an equitable consideration being given for the territory to y^e westward of it. I gave M^r Sullivan an order to take up y^e bal^{ce} of my acc^o except one hund^d pounds in y^e hands of y^r bankers, for w^{ch} I am sorry since rec^d yr. last letter; it is too late to remedy it, but if you shall have occasion for a sum of money for a time, I have several hund^d pounds at yr.

service. I herwth enclose you two letters, one from Mr Barlow & y^e other from Mr Winthrop. I have two packets, w^{ch} I suppose contain books, w^{ch} I shall send to you by y^e first private opp^{ty}. It is desired that they may not be forwarded by post. M^{rs} Bowdoin & Sarah desire to be remembered to you. Believe, always, with great regards, d^r Sir,

Yours, &c^a, &c^a.

P. S. Please to notice to Mr Young that I have duly rec^d his letters of y^e 5 & 19th of May, & had they have required answers, or if I had have been less occupied, I w^d have replied to him. Pray give my complim^{ts} to him.

Yours &c^a.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq.

PARIS, June 30, 1806.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you on the 12th inst^t, since w^{ch} I have rec^d yrs. of y^e 4th, & yesterday that of y^e 15th inst^t, the first announcing yr. safe arrival at Madrid in good health; & y^e last stating a number of interesting facts respecting y^e pending negotiation. I think your information respecting y^e opinions of —— are very important, as they have confirmed me in the propriety of a line of conduct I am determined to pursue at every hazard. I wish you to be critically mindful of 1501's* letters, to procure me copies of them, or at least to give me their general contents & also Mr T's answer, as well as his letters to y^e Spanish gov^t. In short, every step w^{ch} is taken by 1501 or T. or by y^e Spanish gov^t cannot fail to be highly interesting, & I wish you to be as particular as possible. The great & interesting questions are, will Spain part wth East & West Florida? at what price? will she give y^e Floridas agst a part of Louisiana

* General Armstrong's. — Eds.

without money, leaving y^e Mississippi & all y^e waters running into it in y^e possession of y^e U. S.? If not, will she agree to y^e boundary of y^e river Bravo or Del Norte? If she wishes it to y^e eastw^d of that river, say y^e Colorado, will she give an equivalent therefor within East & West Florida, & where will she propose that equivalent? and in such case what will be her demand for the remainder of y^e Floridas? What will she do as to indemnification? Will she pay for French spoliations in Spanish ports? Will she pay for injuries done by her ships of war & cruisers in Europe, and in the West Indies? Will she pay for condemnations for illicit trade in her South American ports? If not, generally, what exceptions will she make? Will she not pay for y^e whalemⁿ condemned who may have availed themselves of a permission to enter thereat & may have attempted to sell merchandize to a trifling am^o but whose voyages c^d have no views to a breach of y^e laws of Spain? Will she justify y^e condemnation of vessells w^{ch} have gone to Spanish ports at y^e instigation of y^e gov^{rs} or some principal officers of y^e Spanish colonies? How shall y^e am^o of spoliations be ascertained? Whether by a board of comm^s as under y^e British treaty? or will she give a sum in specie, or bills upon the colonies & leave its distribution among y^e claim^{ts} to y^e gov^t of y^e U. S.? This last mode w^d be y^e least exceptionable, provided y^e sum be adequate, i. e., about five millions of dollars, w^{ch} if p^d in bills ought to be p^d wth a discount. With respect to y^e sum to be given for y^e Floridas, this must be governed by y^e westerly line of Louisiana, & y^e sacrifices necessary to be made to accommodate y^e Span^h gov^t. But y^e best mode is to give part of Louisiana agst East & West Floridas without price. This was strongly recommended by y^e H^{se} of Represent^s, & what w^d be most consonant to y^e policy of Spain, if uninfluenced by y^e views or designs of this gov^t. If you could sound y^e

Spanish gov^t, & procure its opinion upon this point taking y^e Collorado or y^e Sabine rivers for the boundary, or any point between y^e two, or could procure its opinions upon any of y^e other points herein suggested, you w^d render an important service. Please to inform me whether y^e Spanish gov^t means to refer their disputes to this gov^t or to authorize commiss^{rs} to meet those of y^e U. S.? With respect to 1501, he & I have no communication except by writing! he holds it that all communications with this gov^t belong to him exclusively, & he means to make them without my council or advice. I shall make no comment. I have sent M^r Sullivan to Engl^d to confer wth M^r Monroe, who, poor man, seems to have his calumniators & enemies, & I fear does not find an adequate support from y^e administration. It seems as if M^r 1401* was nearly abandoned by his friends, & that parties in y^e U. S. were amalgamating & forming new confederacies, on w^{ch} to erect a new administration, to become in its turn a new subject for opposition & cabal: and this must be expected as long as y^e constitution continues to be executed upon its present free principles. The emmissaries from M^r T——'s office, the money jobbers, &c^a, insist upon it that nothing will be done. It is said that M^r T—— is expected to resign his office as soon as y^e Emperor can find a person to fill his place: this may prove a fortunate circumstance both for Spain & y^e U. S. Write to me as often as you can. I sent a couple of books forwarded from Washington for you by M^r De Bourke, but he will not be at Madrid untill Sep^t or Oct^o. Enclosed you will have a rec^t for y^e Gazzette de France: it is s^d to have y^e best information respecting y^e affairs of y^e U. S. M^{rs} B. & Sarah desire to be remembered to you. I shall write you as soon as M^r S. returns, who I daily expect. Believe, always, with great esteem [&] regard, very sincerely yours.

* Izquierdo. — Eds.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1806.

DEAR SIR, — I believe that when you left America the invention of the polygraph had not yet reached Boston. It is for copying with one pen while you write with the other & without the least additional embarrasment or exertion to the writer. I think it the finest invention of the present age, & so much superior to the copying machine that the latter will never be continued a day by any one who tries the polygraph. It was invented by a Mr Hawkins of Frankford near Philadelphia, who is now in England turning it to good account. Knowing that you are in the habit of writing much, I have flattered myself that I could add acceptably to your daily convenience by presenting you with one of these delightful machines. I have accordingly had one made, & to be certain of its perfection I have used it myself some weeks, & have the satisfaction to find it the best one I have ever tried; & in the course of two years daily use of them I have had opportunities of trying several. As a secretary which copies for us what we write without the power of revealing it, I find it a most precious possession to a man in public business. I inclose directions for unpacking & using the machine when you receive it; but the machine itself must await a special & sure conveyance under the care of some person going to Paris. It is ready packed and shall go by the first proper conveyance.

As we heard two or three weeks ago of the safe arrival of the *Hornet* at Lorient, we are now anxiously waiting to learn from you the first impressions on her mission. If you can succeed in procuring us Florida, & a good western boundary, it will fill the American mind with joy. It will secure to our fellow citizens one of their most ardent wishes, a long peace with France & Spain; for be assured that the object of war with them and alliance

with England, which at the last session of Congress drew off from the Republican band about half a dozen of its members, is universally reprobated by our *native* citizens from North to South. I have never seen the nation stand more firm to its principles, or rally so firmly to its constituted authorities & in reprobation of the opposition to them. With England I think we shall cut off the resource of impressing our seamen to fight her battles & establish the inviolability of our flag in its commerce with her enemies. We shall thus become what we sincerely wish to be, honestly neutral & truly useful to both belligerents; to the one by keeping open a market for the consumption of her manufactures while they are excluded from all the countries under the power of her enemy; to the other by securing for her a safe carriage of all her productions, metropolitan or colonial, while their own means are restrained by their enemy and may therefore be employed in other useful pursuits. We are certainly more useful friends to France & Spain as neutrals than as allies. I hope they will be sensible of it, and by a wise removal of all grounds of future misunderstanding to another age, enable you to present to us such an arrangement as will insure to our fellow citizens long & permanent peace & friendship with them. With respect to our western boundary your instructions will be your guide. I will only add as a comment to them, that we are attached to the retaining the Bay of St Bernard, because it was the first establishment of the unfortunate La Sale, was the cradle of Louisiana, and more incontestably covered and conveyed to us by France under that name than any other spot in the country. This will be secured to us by taking for our western boundary the Guadaloupe, & from its head round the sources of all waters eastward of it to the highlands embracing the waters running into the Missisipi. However, all these things I presume will be settled before you receive this;

& I hope so settled as to give peace & satisfaction to us all.

Our crops of wheat are greater than have ever been known & are now nearly secured. A caterpillar gave for a while great alarm, but did little injury. Of tobacco not half a crop has been planted for want of rain, & even this half with cotton & Indian corn have yet many chances to run.

This summer will place our harbours in a situation to maintain peace and order within them; the next, or certainly the one following that, will so provide them with gunboats & common batteries as to be hors d'insulte. Altho' our prospect is peace, our policy & purpose is to provide for defence by all those means to which our resources are competent.

I salute you with friendship, & assure you of my high respect and consideration.

TH. JEFFERSON.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 22^d July, 1806.

SIR, — Having no cypher in which I can write to Mess. Monroe & Pinckney, and recollecting that you have, I would wish you to communicate to them as expeditiously as possible the following facts.

A treaty of peace was signed on Sunday last between Russia & France.

Lord Yarmouth is about to take a public character at this court immediately. There is much reason to believe that a peace between France & England will also take place.

It may be of much importance that our ministers in London should know these facts. If you should not think proper to send a special messenger, a letter enclosed to Alexandre may find M^r Thompson at Rotterdam.

Untill you hear this information thro' some other channel, you will not speak of it here.

I am, Sir, very respectfully yrs.

J. ARMSTRONG.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, July 22, 1806.

G. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have only time to thank you for your letter of y^e 28th ult^o; its contents were very important & y^e intelligence proves correct. I have only time to acquaint you that the preliminaries of peace with Russia were signed on Sunday last; & that there is every reason to expect that peace with England will shortly take place. I hope that it will not prove prejudicial to the proposed negociation; but I fear desultory measures and procrastination from more than one source. We have many reports here, some not favourable to the interest or peace of y^e U. S. I hope they will prove only idle speculations. But it is said propositions have been made in y^e overtures for peace to change y^e gov^t of y^e U. S. I do not however believe it, althó I confess I do not like such reports. I w^d add, but I have much business to attend to. I shall write to you as soon as I am more at leisure. Pray let me hear from you often, especially if anything sh^d occur respecting our negotiations. Being in great haste, believe me very respectfully yours.

J. B.

The Spanish agent is named *Isquierdo*.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 23 July.

SIR, — I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 22^d instant. Your views of the interests of the United

States and the wishes of the administration, as far as they go, correspond altogether with my own. Indeed with regard to the latter, there is scarcely any room for mistake; as our instructions cannot without a good deal of ingenuity receive two readings which shall be contradictory to each other.

Expedition is certainly very desirable, particularly under the changes which in all probability will soon take place in the political relations of the great powers of Europe. Nothing hitherto has been omitted on my part which could hasten the negotiation; nor do I yet foresee any thing from any quarter that will delay it beyond a few days. The presumption is that Mr. Escardo, to whom the subject is perfectly new, may think a little previous examination necessary to a discussion of it.

I do not think this government will take any further agency in the business, excepting only to announce the appointment and presence of the Spanish minister. In bringing us together the Emperor's engagements are nearly or altogether fulfilled.

The moment I receive official notice of Mr. Escardo's appointment, I shall communicate it to you, and we may then decide together what new step shall be taken. My own opinion is, that having accomplished the first object (the getting a negotiation at Paris) we ought not to lose the benefits of it by an adherence to any thing like mere punctilio.

I am, Sir, with much esteem,

Your most obedient and very humble servant.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

I have received no written communication from the Prince of Benevent, except one note, the substance of which has been already communicated to you.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, August 7th 1806.

GEO. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — Owing to the pressure of business I directed Mr Sullivan to write you a few lines y^e day before yesterday; since w^{ch} I have rec^d yours of the 17th ult^o. Yours of the 4th, 15th, & 18th June, & 28th July I had before rec^d; the three last of w^{ch} I have found very important. With respect to that of the 17th ult^o, there seems to be something inexplicable in 1366's * last letter. It seems to be either a change in opinion respecting the proposition of our gov^t or else that they had not known of the appointm^t of Isquierdo; who has got his credentials & it is said will not bring them forward until the events of the negociation between France & Engl^d are known. Overtures have been made & preliminaries have been discussing for some time thrô L^d Yarmouth, & what gives the appearance that something like an arrangem^t has been made is, that L^d Lauderdale has arrived here from Engl^d, & it is said that preliminaries will be declared in a few days. The negociation has hitherto been conducted with y^e greatest secrecy: the peace it is however said will produce great changes and that France, Russia & Engl^d will be the only powers w^{ch} will remain really independant in Europe; the rest will be sheltered under the wing of France or Russia. Engl^d, it is said, is to be made rich in colonies in the East & West Indies, but is to relinquish Gibralter, Minorca & Malta. France is to have Egypt & some part of the Turkish dominions. These are the reports of the day: there are some reports likewise w^{ch} implicate the peace of y^e U. S., but I hope they will prove to be without foundation. Every thing seems to be in a state of uncertainty & change, & what a day may bring forth it is impossible to say. I am

* Talleyrand's. — Eds.

much oppressed with business & am unable to give you other than loose thôts upon the state of things. I pray you to continue yr. letters, & to let me know every occurring circumstance respecting the proposed negociation. Does there appear to be apprehensions of a change in the Spanish gov^t? Reports here go to this circumstance, as also to that of Portugal. We are all well & desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always yrs., &c^a.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, Aug^t 14, 1806.

GEO. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on the 7th inst^t & M^r Sullivan at my request two days before in reply to yours of the 17th of July. I am now to acknowledge yours of the 31st ult^o & thank you for the important information it contains. The perfect silence of Isquierdo, & y^e singular letter written by 1361* to your friend convinces me that obstacles of some kind are thrown in the way of an arrangement of our disputes with Spain, or that the negociation is suspended or controled by that w^{ch} is pending between France & England. Certain rumours & reports here implicating the independence & peace of our country had made me extremely anxious to ascertain the truth of them; & I have y^e satisfaction to acquaint you that if there have been propositions justifying the reports, they have proved fruitless & that the present state of y^e negociation between y^e powers does not augur a favourable issue.

We have rec^d a dispatch from M^r Madison of the 6th of May; it breathes the pacific disposition of our governm^t. With respect to other news from the U. S. I enclose you a

* Talleyrand. — Eds.

newspaper of the 16th of June from Boston. I have many details to make you when my health shall be better, but extreme application & much writing added to the dangers of miscarriage have prevented me from communicating to you so extensively as I could wish. My family join me in best regards.

Believe me always very sincerely yours.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

P. S. Please to recollect that y^e value of facts very often depend on dates; & I wish that had given me the dates of 1361's & of 1108. 1448. 713.'s * letters.

In the acknowledgement in my last of yr. letters there was an error, w^{ch} I now correct by acquainting you that I have duly rec^d yours of y^e 4th, 15th, 18th & 28th of June, & of the 14th, 17th, & 31st July.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 14th inst^t, & am now to acknowledge the rec^t of yours of y^e 5th inst^t. My communications with 1501 † are as usual by writing. No overtures are made by Isquierdo, I apprehend there may be some disagreement between 1361. [Tallyrand] & 1385. 215. 1576. 1118. [the Prince of Peace] w^{ch} shall take upon them to instruct Isquierdo. 1501 says his Isquierdo's instructions required either explanation or amendment & that he is waiting to receive intelligence from his gov^t. It is possible that he may be drawn into some speculating schemes with Parker & C°. Dont fail to give me any thing you may hear concerning this man, his views & even his passions. Pray let yr. facts be accompanied with dates; their value often very much depend upon them.

* Daniel Parker's. He was the agent in Paris of Hope & Co., the bankers of Amsterdam. — Eds.

† General Armstrong. — Eds.

With respect to the negociation between France & Engl^d it is difficult to say what will ultimately result from it. I believe that neither L^d Lauderdale or even the Emper^{or} c^d give an opinion w^{ch} ought to be trusted to, & therefore you must not annex any weight to mine. Notwithstanding, from what I know & hear taken in connection with y^e unsettled state of Europe, I am of the opinion that peace will not take place, & I c^d give you a similar opinion from very high authority. Our affairs with Engl^d are progressing to a treaty. L^d Aukland & L^d Holland are the ministers who are charged with the British commission, & I am authorized to say that the treaty is probably completed by this time. This circumstance contradicts directly the reports w^{ch} have lately circulated at Paris; and must shew both to the Spanish & French gov^{ts} the necessity of compromising our disputes with Spain. Without a single appearance from the movements w^{ch} are taking place here to justify the opinion, I feel very confident that we shall obtain a treaty ultimately. There is nothing but y^e intrigues of stock jobbers & speculators w^{ch} have hitherto prevented it, & I trust that they will be obliged very soon to withdraw their interference. I continue to be oppressed with much business, & therefore I beg you to be satisfied with the hasty letters I am obliged to write you.

My family joins me in best regards. Believe me always, with great esteem,

Very sincerely yours.

J. BOWDOIN.

PARIS, Aug^t 23, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, September 9th, 1806.

GEO. W. ERVING, ESQ^R.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 23^d ult^o & y^e 1st ins^t to w^{ch} please to be refered. I y^e last evening rec^d

yours of y^e 20th ult^o & note what you observe concerning 1430. 709. 1300. 854. [Isquierdo]. I believe that he may have been instructed but not commissioned, althô 1501 is the person who gave me the intelligence & w^{ch} I have transmitted to our gov^t. This circumstance if true will place the conduct of this gov^t in a different light than it has stood in my mind — meaning by the gov^t 1385. 16. [ye Emperor] The failure of the negociation, w^{ch} I think is to be apprehended, connected with the reports w^{ch} have prevailed here & w^{ch} will spread like [wi]ld fire in the U. S. will have a tendency to make a [d]eep & wrong impression in the U. S. The failure will be connected with the report & this gov^t be greatly discredited in a case in w^{ch} it ought not to be; the saddle sh^d rest upon the right back. If it is Spain, uninfluenced by this gov^t w^{ch} has created the obstacle, it ought to be so understood. I w^d not have you suppose that y^e miscreants who have come out of 1381's office, with their money projects & who have made our gov^t the dupe of them are excusable. These are the people who have thrown obstacles in y^e way of an amicable adjustm^t, & to whom it will be finally attributable, sh^d we fail of success. It is 1108. 1447. 1300's [Parker's] intrigues with 1501* w^{ch} has done all the mischief; he is daily closeted with him, & who by means of intrigue has converted himself into a kind of minister of y^e U. S! To tell you of all the intrigues w^{ch} I have been eye-witness to w^d require much time & many pages. I shall therefore desist & request the continuance of your researches with yr. friend: they will serve as they have done to throw light upon the intrigues w^{ch} are & have been carrying on. With respect to the present aspect of European affairs, a few days past has laid open the manuvres w^{ch} are carrying on to circumvent 1385. 1544. 1332. 1576. 1385. 16. [y^e ambition of y^e Emperor]. Prussia, Hesse, Saxony & Mecklenbourg, it is said, have

* Armstrong. — Eds.

formed a confederacy, w^{ch} will be supported by Russia & Great Britain, to protect the independence of y^e northern States of Germany. It is also said, that there are a hund^d & fifty thousand men, Russians & Prussians, upon their march to Holland and who will be commanded by the King of Sweden. It is also said that both Russia & Prussia have sent their ministers to Paris to confer upon the subject of a general peace, whilst their armies are marching to their places of destination. For once it seems as if the confederates have kept their own secrets & are likely to take the field under more advantages than they have heretofore done, i. e., sh^d peace not take place; when both parties are prepared & ought to look for the most serious consequences from defeat, I confess that such a situation must offer the strongest motives to reconciliation; but Europe more than half revolutionized & y^e measures pursuing to complete the change is a situation of things ill suited to the claims & the ancient divisions of power among the Princes. L^d Lauderdale is still here, as well as the ministers of those powers who have any vestiges of independ^{ce} remaining; so that there will be a concert of measures in y^e cabinet as well as in the field. Adieu. Let me refer you particularly to my last letter. My family desire their regards to you. I shall write you as soon as the general negotiations shall take their ultimate inclination. Believe me always, with very great regard,

Very respectfully yours.

J. B.

P. S. I forgot to mention that M^r Sullivan rec^d from yr. bankers in London the bal^{ce} of acc^o due to me [on] yr. father's books, placing a small sum in [the]ir hands to my future order. I d^d Mr. S. yr. letter who will take care to answer it, & to acquaint you of any thing occurring w^{ch} he may think will be useful or pleasing to you.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

September 9th, 1806. PARIS.

SIR, — I had the honor of receiving your note of yesterday, & fully partake of the sollicitude you express on the subject of the proposed negociation. An application is at this moment depending in relation to it, upon the issue of which our future and joint measures must be taken. If this government can be brought to rescue the business from the torpor in which it now lies, we shall have gained all I expect from its agency and perhaps all that may be necessary to our object. If on the other hand it should refuse to give it any new impulse, we have little hope from any means within our reach of bringing M. Isquierdo into the negociation, and still less of inducing him to terminate it in the manner we wish. In the latter event, one step is within our power and certainly within our duty and that is, to insist on Mr Isquierdo's saying whether he will or will not negociate? Beyond this we may not be able to go, but short of this we cannot with any propriety stop.

The idea that runs throughout your note of blending this country with Spain and even regarding her as the principal in the controversy is in many respects a very dangerous one; — is the very heterodoxy of Mr. J. Randolph, and ought not to be adopted, much less expressed, but upon evidence much more clear and decisive than I believe can be brought to support it. To the Emperor we certainly are indebted for the only circumstance which has at all approached us to our object, and should he decline giving us farther aid it may furnish matter for regret, but none for blame; particularly when we consider how much has been said in both hemispheres of the influence of France and the *motives* she had for employing that influence in our favor and on the present occasion. The dilemma presented by the doctrines I allude to is

certainly embarrassing, and furnishes a reason why in this business she ought to proceed with great circumspection; for if she goes on so to impress Spain as to produce the treaty on our terms, she is bought (according to the argument) with American money; and if she refuses to go beyond a certain point which shall leave to Spain her free-agency she prevents Spain from acting and makes herself a principal in the quarrel.

I am sure you will regard these remarks as cautionary only and as growing out of a conviction that cannot fail to be common to us both, viz., that if we are to break with Spain, we ought if possible to do it in a way that may leave us to combat her alone.

The letters copies of which you requested shall be sent as soon as Mr Warden can get to work upon them.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

MR. BOWDOIN.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 14 Sept., 1806.

SIR, — The amount of the information you gave on Friday last was, that “Mr Erving had informed you that M. Isquierdo neither had been, nor was now authorised to negotiate with us; and that Mr Erving had received this fact from the Prince of Peace himself.”

In your note of to-day you wish to know what measures I have taken, or mean to take, with regard to the above information?

The first step to be taken is to ascertain its correctness, because I have no scruple in saying that I suspect its accuracy; either you have misunderstood Mr Erving or Mr Erving has misunderstood the Prince of Peace. That Mr Isquierdo may not *now* be authorized to negotiate is possible, because it is possible that since Thursday evening last, he may have received *new* instructions, but the

other part of the assertion, that "he never has been authorised" is certainly unfounded. The facts which contradict are

1st A letter from M. Erving to yourself, stating on the authority of the Prince of Peace that a person had been appointed to negotiate, &c.

2^d The declaration of M^r Isquierdo freely & frequently made that he had been appointed to negotiate, &c.

3^d The understanding of this government that such was the fact; and

4th The express declaration of the Spanish ambassador made to myself, in the presence of M. Isquierdo, that a person had been appointed by H. C. M. to treat with us, and that M. Isquierdo was that person. The steps I have taken will however soon terminate both conjectures and arguments on this head.

If, as you suppose, M^r Isquierdo never has been authorised, or if having been authorised his powers should have been recalled and no similar or competent powers vested in any other person or persons, we may, I think, consider the business as terminated; but on this point I shall have occasion to communicate farther & soon.

I would barely suggest that as M^r Erving's letter may contain details and illustrations with regard to the fact he alledges, it would have equally comported with your preaching and my practice to have furnished me with a copy of it.

I am, Sir, very respectfully your obed. hum. serv^t.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

M^R BOWDOIN.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 16 Sept., 1806.

SIR, — The measures suggested in your note of yesterday are two, that this government be informed that M^r

Isquierdo neither has been, nor is now, empowered to treat with us; and that Mr Erving be requested to open a correspondence with Mr Cevallos on the subject of the negotiation, &c. I regret that I cannot give my consent to either of these propositions,—not to the former because it would be taking for granted a fact by no means established, and which ought to be fully & clearly established before it be made the ground-work of an application to this government: not to the latter, because such a request on my part, or such a correspondence on the part of Mr Erving, would equally break in upon what I know to be the *intentions* of our gov^t, and what I have been ordered to communicate as *such* to his Majesty the Emperor. I shall quote the three articles of my orders which have relation to this point that you may yourself judge of their force and application.

1st That the gov^t of France be informed that the U. S. will make no overture or application whatsoever to the Spanish government on the subject of the differences pending between them, and that if an accomodation of these differences shall take place the first advances thereto must be made by Spain, and must be the result either of her own reflexions or of the councils she may receive from France.

2^d That the terms upon which an amicable adjustment may take place between H. C. M. & the U. S. be submitted to the gov^t of France, and

3^d That means be taken to engage the good offices of the *Emperor* in predisposing Spain to meet the U. S. on those terms.

These orders sufficiently indicate the channel through which the U. S. mean to approach their object and as clearly prohibit any direct overture to any Spanish authority whatsoever. To this remark I have only to add that an application on the subject is now before the Emperor.

I am not possessed of the communication made by this gov^t to that of Spain. Papers of this description cannot be asked for, and are seldom if ever given spontaneously.

I have the honor to be Sir, with very great respect,

Your most obedient & very humble servant.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

MR BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you on the 23^d ult^o & the 1st, 9th & 11th ins^t, to w^{ch} please to be refered. Since my last I have rec^d yours of y^e 25th & 27th of Aug^t: the latter is very important & has made part of a correspond^{ce} w^{ch} I have lately had with 1501, who has called into question its accuracy & the information it contains seems very much to disturb him. I expect to again write 1501 this day & shall recommend him to join with me in a letter to you to make a formal note to M. C. requesting to know what measures will be taken by Spain in consequence of the propositions of our gov^t made thrô y^e medium of the French gov^t. I need not apprize you that the Spanish gov^t ought to be pushed to a definitive reply, whether it means to negociate or not under the propositions of our gov^t, & this reply ought to be timely procured to be laid before Congress at its approaching session. If 1501 does not chuse to join me in the request my present opinion is, that I shall *direct* it to be done under my own commission. I use this term, only to give you an opinion of what I conceive I have authority to do; and in order that you may be prepared for such a case, I shall be glad that you will consider it & give me yr. opinion upon it. I w^d forward you a copy of my correspondence with 1501, if I c^d do it with safety & if you can point out a mode, or you can acquaint me of a confidential person going from hence for Madrid or sh^d hereafter

hear of one, I shall with pleasure profit of y^e opp^{ty} to send y^e correspond^{ce}.

With respect to a gen^l peace althô L^d Lauderdale is here as well as ministers from Prussia & I believe Russia, there seems little probability of its taking place. The Imperial Guards, artillery, &c^a, have marched, & y^e Emperor it is s^d is to follow in a few days. Prussia is to be attacked at all points, & five armies are said to be destined for the business. Saxony, Hesse, Mecklenbourg, & Sweden with Prussia have formed a confederacy for their common protection & the impending attack from y^e French troops is with the view of breaking it up. There is some reason to suppose that Austria may yet join it; but I understand that it is not yet settled. The conflict will be probably very bloody, & will be followed by important consequences. Pray give me a particular & circumstantial reply to my last letter, it may develope some of the schemes, w^{ch} are intended for particular purposes to procrastinate the negociation. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, my d^r Sir, with great regard,

Yours, &c^a, &c^a, &c^a.

September 16th, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — My letters to you w^{ch} remain unacknowledged are of y^e 1st, 9th, 11th, & 16th inst^t. Yours of y^e 2^d ins^t I rec^d this morning. Althô I have not much to say, I shall still repeat what I may have before suggested to you, and enclose you part of my correspond^{ce} grounded upon your letter of y^e 27th ultimo. I have not yet done with it, but I shall again revive it as soon as a few days shall elapse, unless something shall turn up to render it unnecessary. If the proposed negociation shall continue to be treated with neglect or contempt, I have

no hesitation to say that hostilities are unavoidable. I believe the Emperor is well disposed to having our affairs satisfactorily adjusted, but the stock jobbers & their confederates are numerous & influential; and it is obviously not for their interest that our affairs sh^d be adjusted under the present instructions with w^{ch} 1108 — 713 [Parker] is better acquainted than I am; and as he says that a negociation upon the proposed terms is not liked and will not be acceded to, whilst y^e Emperor professes to be well disposed to y^e adjustm^t, you may see where y^e opposition lies, & from what motive it springs and these motives will doubtless control the negociation, unless that some threatening consequences shall compel the adoption of measures w^{ch} shall put aside all y^e schemes for stock jobbing & private emolument: how far Is—— is concerned, I know not: he is intimate with 1108, and as you'll see by the correspond^{ce} has been closeted by 1501. 1108 is in close intimacy at 1366's office, whilst he has a knowledge of all that is passing in our gov^t from 1501 & in y^e U. S. from 1588. 1452 —n [Lincoln] but as our affairs are probably happily arranged with G. B. & as y^e new coalition in y^e north presents a very formidable aspect whatever may be pretended to the contrary, & sh^d that coalition be able to make & continue a defensive war agst France, w^{ch} there is reason to expect, if credit can be given to the preparations w^{ch} are made, I shall in such case be very confident, that the Prince of Beneventum will not think it prudent to allow our disputes with Spain to remain open, but will be obliged to close them upon the best terms he can. Our neutrality is of great importance to both France & Spain; it is the only means thrô w^{ch} their West India colonies can be preserved to them, or that y^e vent of their productions can take place; it is equally important to their commerce in Europe, refering to their necessary importations or to y^e sale of their productions; & what adds to its importance is, that G. B. not having the same motives to re-

spect the flag of any other neutral state will add in case the U. S. are drawn into y^e war, such additional restrictions upon the commerce of France & Spain as will reduce their finances even to a lower ebb than they now are, by an immediate destruction of that part of their revenue w^{ch} they draw from commerce, as well as very much lessen the general ability to pay taxes in whatever shape they may be levied. So fully apprized was M^r Pitt of this circumstance, that he was known to possess y^e opinion that it was better for G. B. to endure the loss of the commerce of U. S. & to submit to the danger of their hostility than to allow the concession of that commerce w^{ch} the present British regulations permit to vessells of y^e U. S. trading to the ports of France & Spain. It w^d seem that either the French & Spanish ministry are not apprized of these circumstances, or that they think that y^e United States cannot be driven to hostilities by ill treatment or contempt, for otherwise they could not justify the policy w^{ch} they seem of late to have pursued towards them. The enquiry arises w^{ch} of these powers is to blame? is it from Spain from w^{ch} the opposition to the arrangement principally springs? or is it France w^{ch} secretly impedes it? or is it the stock-jobbers who have found the secret avenues to both gov^{ts} & throw obstacles in y^e way of the adjustment? an explanation of a certain letter written to yr. friend, & of w^{ch} you made mention in yr. letter of the 17th of July, w^d be of great service. I think it w^d be well to endeavour to penetrate into the motives w^{ch} induced y^e replies made to you as stated in yr. letter of y^e 27th ultimo, or whether they arose from y^e influence of y^e letter referred to in yrs. of y^e 17th of July; to know y^e leading motives & secret springs of a line of conduct opens the way to y^e most ready means of counteracting it. I hope you will continue your usual activity. I send only a copy of the correspond^{ce} between Prince of Beneventum & Gen. Armstrong; mine with the Gen^l I shall retain for fear of an

accident. There is the remains of a letter from 1501 to me attached to the copy of a letter to Mr Talleraud, the reason of it you will discover without further explanation. This is sent to me for a copy of the whole correspond^{ce}, it certainly requires no comment. We have reports here that there has been a battle between y^e van of the Prussian & French armies: it is s^d to have been in favour of y^e former. Y^e Emperor meets the Senate this day to take leave, & set off for Frankfort or Mayence this evening. The preparations are immense on both sides; the last of y^e soldiery quit Paris this day: they go on in waggons & by post. You may depend that the conflict will be serious. We had another report yesterday that certain propositions implicating the independ^{ce} of y^e U. S., i. e., in regard to making one of y^e sons of Geo. 3^d king of the U. S. have been communicated & made public in Engl^d. I do not vouch for its truth, sh^d it be confirmed I shall acquaint with it. Excuse this hasty desultory letter. I have no time to copy it. Our family are well & desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, with great regard,

Yours.

Sep^t 21st, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have written to you on the 14th & 23^d Aug^t & on y^e 1st & 9th inst. to w^{ch} please to be referred. The object I have in now writing to you principally refers to yr. letter of y^e 17th July, wherein you say I have 1075. 545. 1549. 925. 879. 1576. 1366's. [seen another letter of Tallyrand's] he says, &c^a, *has been too quick, &c^a*. I wish you to repeat & to be as explicit as possible upon this letter to w^{ch} yours refers, in giving the contents & what you conceive, & what yr. friend does & did conceive, to be y^e motive thus suddenly to arrest the very proceedings he (1366) had put in train. I am to

have a copy in a day or two of 1501's correspondence with 1366 [Tallyrand]: a full & clear explanation of y^e design w^{ch} 1366 had in writing as he did to your friend will put me in possession of the whole ground. Things are coming to a crisis & must soon explain themselves. I shall be obliged to you to enquire whether D^r Tho^s Lopez, a Spanish geographer, made a map of America & particularly of the Gulf of Mexico & whether he has laid down y^e eastern limits of New Mexico, or what is y^e same thing y^e western limits of Louisiana in the Rio del Norte & Sallado continued to the northern boundary of Louisiana wherever it may be. One of M^r Monroe's notes to M. Cevallos states this circumstance; my information here is, that Lopez never published a map of any part of America; at any rate if he did it is not to be found at Paris. If you can get at any information concerning the western boundary of Louisiana from Spanish historians or geographers, w^{ch} places the limits in y^e Rio del Norte, I wish you to acquaint me therewith. I think I can have no difficulty in establishing the point from y^e numerous vouchers w^{ch} I have collected; but these are principally French. I wish that you w^d let me know what you can obtain upon this point, althô I am apprehensive the field is barren & that I shall not give you much trouble; but what the geographers or historians of Spain can furnish may be probably found in the library of y^e Academy of History, to w^{ch} I think it probable that foreigners of distinction have access. The secret treaty of 1762 between France & Spain, if a copy of it c^d be obtained by paying a small sum of money, w^d be a very valuable paper, as it probably explains both y^e eastern & western limits & y^e objects & motives of the two gov^{ts} in making & rec^s the cession; at least it w^d answer to know how far the Spanish gov^t might be pushed to an exposure of it to settle y^e limits of the territory. The cession was made in 1762, but the transfer of y^e

colony did not take place till 1769; and it is probable that it w^d have never been made but at the instigation of the British cabinet for the better security of their colonies. I mention this circumstance that you possibly obtain some papers favourable to our claims from the archives of the British cabinet, if there are such at Madrid & they can be got at. In your absence I wrote to Mr Young concerning the claims of our citizens from Spanish spoiliations; if you have any docum^{ts} I wish you w^d send me a list of the vessells y^e owners & y^e am^o of the respective claims. Nothing new has ocured since my last relative to a general peace; the respective ministers continue here, but I do not at present think that y^e present negociation can result in peace. Adieu. Believe me always, with great regard,

Very sincerely yours, &c^a.

PARIS, Sep. 11, 1806.

J. B.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I duly rec^d yr. letter of the 12th ult^o the day before yesterday; that of y^e 8th is not yet come to hand, & I fear never will. The use I made of 1108. 1447. 1300's [Parker's] suggestions to you was to impress upon the Presid^{ts} mind an important fact, in respect to y^e leading motives w^{ch} controul the proposed negociation. 1501 was not in possession of his instructions five days, when 1108. [Parker] told Mr Skipwith that the propositions were not relished & w^d not go down. What has been done therefore is pro formâ & this will explain to you y^e motives of the first letters to yr. friend, & the correspondent momentary approbation of 1385. 215. 1576. 1118: [the P. of Peace] the posterier letters to yr. friend complaining of his conduct, & y^e subsequent conduct of 1385. 215. [Prince of P.] shew that there has been no

real intention here of bringing the business to a close under y^e present propositions. Take yr. position in the belief of the money projects w^{ch} have been on foot, & it is easy to account for every thing w^{ch} has taken place here or at Madrid. The Emperor & Prince of Beneventum are at Mentz. Paris is become bare of troops, they were sent on by post & y^e first devision of them, it was calculated, w^d arrive at Mentz yesterday. The head quarters of the French army is said to be Bamberg, & will be 300,000 strong. The Prussians are in great force at Halle, Madebourg, Silisea & along the frontiers to Bohemia. The Duke of Brunswic commands the center, Gen^l Blucher & Ruchel y^e right wing & Prince Hohenloe the left. The most active operations are soon expected. L^d Lauderdale still continues here, from what motive is not known. No late news from America. It was told me yesterday that Gen. Armstrong will set off in a few days on a journey to Italy. I do not vouch for its truth. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, my dear Sir, with great regard.

Yours, &c^a, &c^a.

Oct^r 1st, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY D^B SIR, — My letters of y^e 16th & 21st ult^o & of the 1st ins^t are unacknowledged ; yours of y^e 8th of Sep^r has failed, & I am to acknowledge that of y^e 26th ult^o. I am much obliged to you for y^e information it contains: it places y^e whole business where I expected, & confirms me in y^e opinion that 1381 — [Tallyrand] has been concerned in 1101's [Parker's] money schemes. The opposition I have given to this business under all the shapes w^{ch} it has taken, I have good reason to think has struck a damp upon y^e whole affair, & I believe they begin seriously to think

of relinquishing it, althô I shall not trust to appearances until a treaty is obtained. 1385. 215. 1576. 1118 [P. of Peace] has put a deception upon you. 1436 —o [Isquierdo] has had conditional powers to be used or not as 1381 [Tallyrand] may chuse: & 1385. 215. 1576. 1118. so far from being satisfied with y^e present situation of things is very uneasy, & the same sensation is communicated to this gov^t. I yesterday rec^d overtures from 1381's brother, who discovers much anxiety, as I am told, & proposes, if 1381 does not come to Paris in two or three days, as is expected, to undertake a journey to Germany to see him, that is if he can obtain my terms. The administration has placed me in a situation that it cannot justify, & if I am able to serve it it is more than it has a right to expect. I have pushed 1501. & nothing can be more contemptible than his conduct & situation, w^{ch} cannot be much longer concealed from the gov^t or people of y^e U. S. That old villain of N. Y., you know who I mean, left his project behind him, & this is the source of all the difficulties w^{ch} our affairs have experienced.

SAT., PARIS, Oct^o 11th, 1806.

Your friends desire to be remembered to you. I have not time to add by this post. I shall write to you as soon as any thing certain turns up. Believe me always with great regard very sincerely yours.

No news from Prussia.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY D^R SIR, — I wrote to you the day before yesterday in great haste, & owing to y^e mistake of a figure I am apprehensive you will not know who I meant by 1381, it sh^d have been 1361 or 1366. This circumstance gives me y^e opp^{ty} to suggest to you that there was a secret treaty be-

tween France & Spain in y^e year 1762 relative to Louisiana, it was either accompanied wth a plan, or there is a plan or map w^{ch} was made afterwards for y^e use of y^e two gov^{ts}, placing y^e western limits of Louisiana in y^e Rio del Norte & Rio Sallado; this map or plan was deposited in y^e archives of both gov^{ts} & it has been shewn here very lately with 1366's name & note annexed declaratory of y^e western boundary aforementioned. As there is reason to apprehend that this boundary may be disputed, if you can obtain a copy of y^e treaty & of y^e plan aforementioned you may go as far as 338. 794. 1067. [fifty dolls.] for them both; & if you cannot obtain the copies for that sum, please to let me know at what price they can be obtained. I wish you w^d ask yr. friend to give you a copy of y^e application of this to the Spanish gov^t to open a negociation for that part of Louisiana lying to y^e eastw^d of y^e Mississippi: it is s^d to have been made between y^e years 1800 & 1803. (y^r eleven). This ought to be procured without creating much notice, lest we sh^d not be able to obtain a treaty, & thereby lessen the disposition to take it; but I think there is a probability that a treaty will be obtained; at least I am taught to think so from some indirect suggestions w^{ch} I have privately rec^d. Wth respect to Spanish geographys & histories I cannot readily obtain either here: y^e author of y^e *Histoire Universelle* translated from y^e English says that no one can determine y^e limits of New Mexico on y^e east, & observes that most geographers divide it into 15 provinces, some into five, althô almost all y^e Spanish historians divide it into 18 & content themselves with giving a list of their names. Mr Monroe's quotation of Lopez's map agst y^e declaration of y^e Paris engravers, who say that Lopez never published a map of America, cannot be adduced as an authority. If you can find any thing upon y^e subject of y^e eastern limits of New Mexico I sh^d be glad of it; but I dont expect any thing of much import^{ce}

except the treaty & plan aforementioned. If you or M^r Young can give me a mem^o of y^e am^o of our claims for spoliations, distinguishing French spoliations in Spanish ports from other irregularities, I shall be obliged to you for it, as also for any opinions w^{ch} you or M^r Young may have upon this subject. I have late intelligence from our friends in Boston who are generally well. Miranda's expedition will doubtless succeed & y^e loss of y^e Spanish colonies to Spain seems from concurring circumstances quite probable. If we do not obtain a treaty seasonably to be laid before Congress at the approaching session, I believe we shall contribute not a little to y^e same object, as I conceive a war to be inevitable. Whether Spain is not so far gone as a power to become insensible to her situation I can't say. It may possibly serve to quicken their movem^{ts} here to privately give the 215. 1576. 1118* this hint. There is no news from Prussia. Both armies are in the presence of each other; but no blow is yet struck.

Believe me always with great regard, very sincerely yours.

PARIS, Oct^o 13th, 1806.

My family desire to be remembered to you.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY D^r SIR, — I wrote to you on the 21st ult^o & on y^e 1st, 11th & 13th instant. Yr. favour of y^e 2nd inst^t I rec^d last evening, & I am much obliged to you for it. It makes the *éclaircissement* perfect, & places the blame where it ought to lie: my two last letters I think were too strongly expressed. Overtures of an extraordinary kind were made to me thrô M^r Skipwith; & althô they show a disposition to conciliation I am determined to put my face agst all indirect & corrupt propositions. Our

* Prince of Peace. — Eds.

gov^t must lay aside its apathy, must assert its claims & shew to the world that it knows how to estimate its situation & interest, or the heaviest calamities will be brôt upon our country thrô intriguers & stock jobbers, who are the true cause of the existing misunderstanding. I shall acquaint you with occurring circumstances, whatever they may be, & wth my feelings at y^e moment they are presented; I mention this, that you may account for the change between this & my preceeding letters, w^{ch} arises from a variety of occurrences not necessary to mention. I shall enclose you one half of my late correspondence with Gen^l A. by this opportunity & the remainder by the next general post day. I hope you take care to write to the gov^t your conversations with —; they are interesting & sh^d be communicated. Take care however not to notice to them any thing concerning our affairs w^{ch} shall lead them to expect that y^e present proposed negociation will prove successful without the cooperation of energetic measures on their side. There is no news from y^e armies; the Emperor has taken his quarters upon the frontiers of Saxony. The Senate met yesterday & rec^d dispatches from the Emperor mentioning that all negociations with Prussia had broken up & that y^e war w^d commence immeadiately. The preparations on both sides surpass any thing w^{ch} has been exhibited in Europe for many many years. The events of y^e war will doubtless have an effect upon our negociations. Believe me always, with great regard, d^r Sir, yours, &c^a.

PARIS, Oct^o 15, 1806.

My family desire to be remembered to you.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

25 Octob., 1806. PARIS.

SIR,—I received your note of yesterday, and am obliged by the information it contains. You think this

information ought to be made the foundation of a particular representation to this government, but you have not even hinted at the character which ought to be given to this representation, — shall it be communicated merely as matter of information? Shall it be offered as a declaration of the Prince of Peace? Shall it be given in the words and on the authority of Mr Erving? If the fact it asserts be taken for granted, shall we complain that this government has not *demande*d powers? or shall we remonstrate against her for not having done so? The more in my opinion that the present torpor in which the business lies be considered as either the act or the omission of this government, the more importance it takes, and the more caution on our part it requires. As however you have a good deal of leisure, I would thank you to put the representation you think advisable into the form of a note. If it should meet my opinion of what under all circumstances would be most expedient, I shall willingly adopt it, and if it should not I shall assign my reasons for thinking differently from you.

I am, with great respect, your most obed^t serv^t.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

MR BOWDOIN.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 25 Octob., 1806.

SIR, — Your letter of to-day has been received. The conjecture that M. Yzquierdo's powers may be revived is not improbable. Should this event take place, I shall be promptly advised of it and shall immediately return to Paris. I cannot but notice that you have somewhat mistaken the meaning of my note of the 18th. I have not said that "Mr Y's powers have been suspended or recalled in consequence of the late negotiations with England." I but offered as *conjecture* that his appointment

to treat with England might in some degree explain the conduct of Spain towards us.

You enquire through whom you may have access to me during my absence? Mr Warden* will remain in Paris, will be advised of my movements and will convey to me any letters you may think proper to write.

You ask also through whom you are to communicate with this government? I answer, that I shall not charge any person with the business of the U. S. in Paris during the absence of the Emperor and the Prince of Benevent. When they return to Paris I shall return also.

Mr Warden will have authority to open all packets addressed to me which shall come from the Dep^t of State of the U. S. and will deliver to you any letters specially directed to you. All others he will forward to me either by post or by express. These to become intelligible must be interpreted by my cypher which I shall carry with me. I do not however expect any letter of much importance from the gov^t for some time to come. They have been regularly apprized by me of every step taken in the business, and will no doubt wait the results of these measures.

I am sorry I cannot gratify your sollicitude with respect to notes (other than those I have already sent) which I have written to this gov^t. Not believing that a negotiation with France (the object of which is to produce a negotiation with Spain) could in its own nature, be managed with the pen, I have made but little use of it. To the notes already sent I can therefore add only a few lines written the other day to M. Talleyrand which the occasion called for.

I am, Sir, respectfully, your most obed^t serv^t.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

MR BOWDOIN.

* David B. Warden, secretary of legation to General Armstrong, and afterward, for forty years, consul-general of the United States at Paris. He was elected a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society in 1830, and died in Paris, Oct. 9, 1845. — Eds.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq.

MY D^R SIR, — I wrote to you on the 1st, 11th, 13th, & 15th ins^t, & have since enclosed a part of my correspond^{ce} with 1501 by the way of Bordeaux. Since which I have rec^d yours of the 6th & 13th ins^t. Neither you nor your friend ought to be under the least apprehensions. I shall take care to say nothing to 1501 w^{ch} shall implicate him. As I think the whole business pretty well developed & that we precisely know where the blame lies our gov^t cannot act under any deception. 1366–1108. — & 1501,* have been very thoroughly sifted: and their intrigues must be renounced or adopted as a measure of policy at the option of the gov^t. 1501 has given me formal notice of his going from Paris for some weeks: it is s^d, he is going to the south of France & to Italy for his health. I need say nothing ab^t him; his conduct sufficiently speaks for itself. If you rec^e any intelligence from y^e Presid^t or from M^r Madison I shall be obliged to you to acquaint me therewith. As soon as this business with Spain is finished it is my intention to return home. My début has not been either flattering or pleasing to me; it has perfectly satisfied me by proving to me that the situation of a minister is neither a source of pleasure or profit; it will not afford the first because deception & deceit characterize those with whom you must associate, & y^e latter because the allowance of gov^t will not more than half pay the necessary expences. At any rate I am determined to be quit of it as soon as I possibly can without sacrificing the interest of our gov^t or my own personal reputation.

The acc^{ts} from Prussia surpass all description; their armies every where routed and overthrown. I have only time to enclose the Bulletin. My family desire to be

* Talleyrand, Parker, and Armstrong. — Eds.

remembered to you. Believe me always, with great regard, very sincerely yours, &c., &c^a.

PARIS, Oct^o 27th, 1806.

P. S. I forgot to explain to you my manner of managem^t concerning the Argus; I have taken it at my own expence & have forwarded it to you by the post of y^e day; if you have incurred any increased expence from the arrangem^t it is my fault, & if you desire it as you formerly had it, you will give me your directions accordingly.

The post was closed yesterday before my letter was offered, w^{ch} gives me the opp^{ty} of enclosing the Argus of this day containing an acc^o of y^e late victories; & also to acknowledge the rec^t of yrs of y^e 15th. Pray let me know y^e effect that these victories may produce in Spain. I shall write to you very soon.

Yrs, &c^a.

28th Oct^o.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.

GEN. A.

PARIS, Oct. 29, 1806.

SIR, — I received your letters of the 25th instant the day before yesterday at eleven o'clock enclosing a copy of your note to the P. of B^m dated the 15th inst. Althô I have no disposition to refuse you my advise or opinion generally as to the note I think ought to be written to this gov^t, yet you are sensible that I am not in possession of the whole subject, and therefore cannot with propriety take upon me the responsibility of writing a note for you upon the present occasion, agreeably to your request. What were the original inofficial propositions said to be from the P. of B^m? How far they have been acceded to by the President? What are 664. 218. 1426. 24. 565. 1067. [your private instructions] (for it seems by

664. 879. 1576. 1385. 242. 1382. 1576. 64. [your letter of the 6th of ——] that 663. 1259. 31.) [you have such] and how far 551. 1426. 24. 565. [those instructions] agree with 551. 107. 569. 491. 1349. [those common to us both] are circumstances which should have an influence upon the note which seems to be called for upon the present occasion. It is on these accounts, and these only, taken in connection with the circumstance that it makes no part of my commission, render it equally reasonable and proper that I should decline your request. I have however no hesitance in saying, I consider that the delay has originated with this gov^t, and that I think the note in question ought to represent that there is good reason to suppose that Spain stands ready to put her affairs with the U. S. in a train of amicable arrangement as soon as she shall receive the impulse from this gov^t; and that without it she is neither disposed nor will she stir one step. That from the length of time our disputes have subsisted as well as from the ineffectual attempts which have been made to procure their arrangement, any further delay must be attended with the most serious consequences. That as it was the intention of his Imperial Majesty to lend his friendly mediation to prevent the evils consequent upon the present posture of our affairs agreeably to the assurances given in June last, his Majesty's friendly interposition cannot be too soon nor too efficiently put in operation to procure the desired effects, and that if his Majesty should not be induced shortly to afford his friendly interference you could not answer for the consequences of a further delay. A note containing the general sentiments herein stated, from the information I possess, would be probably productive of great advantage, could do no harm, and would serve at least to explain the real motives and intentions of this gov^t.

I am very respectfully, Sir, &c., &c., &c.

Signed.

J. B.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING.

MY D^R SIR, — My last was forwarded y^e 28th instant, since w^{ch} I have rec^d new overtures thrô M^r Skipwith & things look like a disposition for accommodation; but as I mean to give little attention to every thing of this kind until it shall come through y^e regular channels, I shall continue to consider every thing of the sort as belonging to the schemes of the speculators; but that I may be prepared agst every event, let me know what is likely to come of the proclamation & what purpose it is likely to serve? Prussia is beaten & y^e Emperor is probably at Berlin. But where the Russian army is, or what is the precise intention of Austria is not yet known. Althô the Emperor was supposed to command 400,000 men, yet reinforcem^{ts} are called for from all quarters, & y^e corps in reserve are marching to the imperial standard; this looks as if the business was not settled, & there was yet much fighting to be done. As movem^{ts} in Spain of any sort may have an influence upon our negociations I wish you to continue to inform me of every occurrence. It is insisted on here that Isquierdo has the powers of the P. of P.; if so, in a certain event will they be recalled? & in that event will she choose to settle our disputes herself? w^d it or w^d it not be dangerous to pay money here for the Floridas? Can you sift the Prince, or ascertain whether it will make any change in y^e posture of our affairs & what? you understand me. Will there be any advantage in transferring the place of y^e negociation? As I cannot explain myself more particularly, you must conceive my drift & acquaint me with every thing you can procure. As soon as I know the fate of the correspond^{ce} I have enclosed you, I shall send you some w^{ch} has since taken place.

My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always with great regard very sincerely yrs.

Oct^o. 30th, 1806.

Y^e above is written in haste.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^r.

MY D^R SIR, — My last was dated the 30th ult^o, since w^{ch} I have rec^d yours of y^e 21st, 25th & 29th ult^o. Nothing further has turned up since I last wrote to you, and no overtures have been since made by the stock-jobbers thrô M^r Skipwith. M^r Andreoli deliv^d me your enclosure of two maps yesterday; he dines with me to-day. I am glad to have the maps altho they are of little consequence compared with a number w^{ch} I have collected here & are very important. I have made a collection likewise of all the histories upon the subject of Louisiana to be found here, among w^{ch} is Du Pratz. But I conceive that all reasoning upon the subject is at an end. By an arrival at Nantz bringing acc^{ts} from New York to y^e 4th of Oct^o we understand that hostilities have commenced & the Spaniards have taken a number of our troops prisoners; that they have advanced into the country of Natitoches with 800 Spanish troops and as many savages; and that the troops were collecting to attack them. Things being advanced thus far, negociation is at an end. It happens very fortunate that the Spaniards are y^e aggressors & obviously within the territory of Louisiana. An extract from a New York newspaper of the 4th of Oct^o is enclosed, and also a copy of a letter from Gen^l A. to me, & a copy of his late note to the Prince of Beneventum. The Gen^l, I understand, sets out for Italy to-day or to-morrow. This puts out of question all prospect of negociation thrô this gov^t. If Spain takes the part w^{ch} it is supposed here that

she will & sh^d become y^e ally of Engl^d instead of France, I think no time ought to be lost in y^e U. S. to take possession of E. & W. Florida, and events will probably dissipate some of y^e money schemes w^{ch} are probably going on here. I shall prepare for my return home as fast as possible. Do you want a chariot or a coachee, both of w^{ch} I have at Santander, or can you procure me a purchaser for one or the other or both at Madrid? My chariot is London built, in good order: it was my mother's, & I w^d sell it for 1000 dolls. rather than return it to y^e U. S. Pray write me on this subject by y^e return of y^e post. What will be yr. own destination in y^e event of war? Will it be to return to Engl^d or go to y^e U. S.? I believe that I shall send M^r Sullivan to S^t Ander to re-ship my effects. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, with great respect,

Yrs.

J. B.

PARIS, 11th Nov., 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on the 11th inst without having anything specially important to communicate to you, w^{ch} is the case at present, except to acknowledge the rec^t of yours of the 4th inst, to acquaint you that y^r letter of y^e 8th of Sep. miscarried & never reached me, & to refer you to my enclosures of y^e 21st of Sep. last, where you will find the continuance & conclusion of the correspond^{ce} between Gen. A. & me to that time. Since w^{ch} I have had a further correspond^{ce} with him w^{ch} I shall enclose you shortly. The last letter of 1501 discloses something very important & shews that he has had private instructions very different from those common to us both. There has been strange conduct somewhere, when & how it will be fully explained I know not. The Presid^t has

doubtless been amused & deceived with inefficient propositions w^{ch} they will not or dare not attempt to execute. Time will discover them and the projectors. The Marq^s Yrujo, it is said, has rec^d full powers to treat at Washington, & the Spaniards are making inroads upon Louisiana with a considerable force, which will be opposed. These circumstances of course will put an end to all prospect of negociation for the present, & we must wait the event of these measures & new instructions. The Paris papers are doubtless rec^d at Madrid, & give you the details of the campaign in Prussia. Nothing seems to be s^d of the Russian forces, but they are doubtless preparing for a rencontre. Sh^d they be defeated, w^{ch} there is too much reason to apprehend that they will be, Europe must submit to y^e yoke of this gov^t, perhaps the world become tributary to it. Let me know how y^e Prince — conducts sinc his late proclamation; if he thinks it not well understood & that he will not be punished for it, he is mistaken. Hesse Cassel affords a striking evidence of the policy w^{ch} will be observed as well as of the punishm^t w^{ch} will be inflicted! We have all been much afflicted with severe colds. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, with great regard,

Yours, &c^a.

PARIS, Nov. 18, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY D^r SIR, — My letters of the 11th & 18th ins^t remain unacknowledged. I have rec^d your favors of the 6th & 10th ins^t within these two days. I am glad to observe by the first that you have made up yr. mind to settle in yr. native country, & I presume *place*. Your plan I think judicious & proper, but you ought to recollect that if you mean to establish yrself & form a family

of your own, w^{ch} on every acc^o will prove most conciliating & satisfactory, especially to a man who does not mean to become a prey to the depravity of his own passions, who means to make & conciliate a friend, i. e., a real & substantial one, who will participate in his pains as well as pleasures, & who can have no interest discordant to his own, permit me to say that it is high time that you set ab^t it; “Dum loquimur fugit invida ætas,” and that you sh^d abandon youthful galantries & sh^d cease yr. attempts to console yourself in the indiscriminate embraces of corrupt women whose debaseing influence will in the end unfit you for the more mature & rational pleasures of connubial life & will be y^e means of leaving a void without a friend or those attachm^{ts} w^{ch} are necessary to render the evening of life tranquil & satisfactory. These observations spring from yr. letter added to some reports w^{ch} have circulated here. They are made with y^e best intentions, & I hope you will not take them amiss.

1501 has returned, afraid, I suppose, of taking upon himself the responsibility of quitting his post at this time, althô I have no doubt a new concerted plan is on foot to again bewilder & deceive y^e administration, & in proof of it Is. set out for Holland at the same time that 1501 proposed his journey to Italy. A short time will unfold things w^{ch} will make y^e administration repent of their misplaced confidence. We have reports here that a treaty with Engl^d is concluded by our commiss^{rs}. Our affairs there have derived very little advantage from our friend's associate.

With respect to the efforts you mention, they may afford conversation & mirth to Paris belles & beaux, but they will throw no impedem^t in y^e way of y^e Emperor & y^e extension of his power; she has but one step left, to abandon Europe, transport the gov^t to the colonies, enter into alliances with Engl^d & y^e U. S. & establish free trade & intercourse with all the world.

Engl^d too, sh^d y^e war continue, will not stand upon y^e most secure footing. National bankruptcy is talked of, and warmly recommended by some politicians, & sh^d it take place the rotten branches of royalty may be blown away & a new & improved system of free gov^t be substituted, w^{ch} by giving a motive to every man to defend y^e soil may prove the most complete barrier to the ambition of —, & may leave all the resources of the country to be applied to the continuance of their marine establishm^t. Pray continue to advise me of every change taking place with you. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, with great respect, d^r Sir,

Yours, &c.

Nov. 26th, 1806.

P. S. A part of my corresp^d is enclosed.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^r.

MY D^r SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 18th & 26th ult^o & a few lines on y^e 2^d ins^t, enclosing a copy of the late imperial Decree declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade, &c^a. The orders carrying the decree into more effectual execution or limiting & restricting its operation have not yet been published by the ministers directed to execute it; but there is no doubt that all vessels bound to G. Britain or Ireland will be subjected to capture & will be condemned if brot into France by French privateers. British property it is said to a great am^o has been sequestered at Paris; & at Hamburg, Lubeck & the other free cities of Germany as well as in every one in w^{ch} the French army has penetrated. It is every where condemned, and British merchandize is confiscated let it belong to whom it may. If the British cabinet adopt coun-

ter declarations, w^{ch} may be expected, the war will take a new character & will probably become barbarous beyond example. In this conflict wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement on all sides, what part the U. S. will be obliged to take, whether G. B. will insist upon their taking a part or whether she will not be necessarily drawn into it, much is to be said on both sides. On the one side all our commerce lies openly exposed, without a ship to protect it, whilst the mysterious conduct of Spain seems to render it necessary that we sh^d take forcible possession of East & W. Florida; on the other hand the pacific policy of the administration, added to y^e ill-policy of being drawn into the contests of the European nations, offer strong motives to pocket insults & submit to the inconveniences w^{ch} accompany the present posture of our affairs. The President's situation is critical & embarrassing & calls for all y^e political wisdom & prudence he possesses; but whether Prudence herself can keep us out of the contest is still a question?

Yr. letter of y^e 22^d ult^o came to hand last evening & I observe what has been yr. conversation with yr. friend, but I fear nothing can revive the proposed negotiation under present circumstances. Isquierdo is in Holland, & I am assured has no powers. 1501 has returned, but is thinking more of finding a salve for past folly than of endeavouring to procure an adjustm^t of our affairs. I despair of the influence of any steps w^{ch} may be taken by our gov^t, any w^{ch} w^d have shewn the least decision the last year w^d have proved effectual. Nothing, I fear, now will. The Emperor is determined, following y^e steps of L^d Chatham, to conquer the French colonies in Germany. Poland is revolutionizing, where a winter's campaign is to be carried on with Russia; & sh^d the latter be beaten, as may be expected, the Emperor may plant his standards at Petersburg the next spring. Empire follows the track of a conquering army as the

winds at the equator follow the sun, & where its victories will not extend it is impossible to conjecture. We must leave political events to time & chance to develope; I apprehend my speculations will throw but little light upon them!

I rec^d late letters from my friends who were well on y^e 23^d of Oct^o. No news of any kind & nothing s^d ab^t the Spaniards & Indians at y^e Sabine river, therefore I suppose that y^e news we had was a false alarm. My family desire to be remembered to you. M^r Sullivan has gone to renew yr. subscription for the Gaz. de France.

Believe always, wth great regard, yrs., &c.

PARIS, Dec. 6, 1806.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^r.

MY D^r SIR, — I am to acknowledge y^e rec^t of yr. favor of y^e 16th inst^t, and althô I do not recollect enough of my letter w^{ch} enclosed the late Decree to say what it contained, as it was written in haste & not copied, I am glad that it has given occasion to yr. opinions upon the subject of it. An English retaliation of y^e decree I have had reason to apprehend, & y^e necessary consequences of it I am afraid we shall experience by y^e plunder of our commerce. I say plunder of our commerce, because y^e British cabinet has availed itself of every pretence to do it when it c^d think itself justified by y^e conduct of its enemies. Indeed our reports here by y^e way of Holland, & from as high authority as Willinks & C^o, are that war between Engl^d & y^e U. S. is inevitable; that y^e negociation is broken up without hopes of being renewed, & that every thing bears a hostile appearance if it is not open war. From whence arises this sudden change, say you? Did you not write

me that y^e treaty was upon the eve of being signed? Yes: but the imperial Decree has intervened, & I suppose if y^e truth was known we shd. find that in order to make a great & successful sweep of our European commerce the mom^t the decree was rec^d in Engl^d private orders were issued to send in all neutrals bound to France or to the countries in alliance with her, and that our vessels are carried into Engl^d in great numbers. I draw this opinion from y^e reports & from y^e few vessels w^{ch} have lately arrived upon y^e west coast of France, whilst in y^e Mediterranean the arrivals from y^e U. S. are numerous beyond example. At any rate some very important measure has been taken w^{ch} implicates y^e peace of y^e U. S. With respect to our affairs with Spain, they remain in appearance in statû quo; there has been a new scheme of speculation devised & perhaps is carrying into execution at this moment. Y^e plan is to procure a grant of from 3 to 6 mil^s of acres of land from Spain upon a small consideration per acre, to be ratified & confirmed by y^e treaty of cession as a sine quâ non. Iz— was to procure y^e grant, and Iz., P., 1501 & their associates were to become the C^o & divide y^e spoil. This information was lodged with me yesterday, & I beg that you will endeavour to ascertain whether there has been a grant of land made or proposed in either Louisiana or the Floridas, & to whom? y^e quantity of land, its situation, or its discription, if not a copy of it, i. e., if such a step has been taken. It is s^d that y^e P. of M. was applied to, but refused to have anything to do with it. I had reason to think something of y^e kind had been upon y^e carpet more than six weeks since; & that something is or has been hatching or may have been forwarded to y^e Presid^t I have no doubt. I am sorry to see what I do; our country possessing no political influence here, & its agents treated with contempt, & whether deservedly or not, time will determine. If

any thing turns up I shall write you ; dont fail to let me know what you can ascertain concerning y^e grant of land. My family desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always with great regard, yours, &c^a.

PARIS, Dec. 31, 1806.

JAMES MONROE AND WILLIAM PINKNEY TO JAMES
BOWDOIN.*

LONDON, January 16th, 1807.

SIR, — We have the pleasure to inform you that we concluded a treaty of amity, navigation, & commerce with this government on the 31 ulto., and that Mr Purviance sailed with the treaty for the United States on the 11th instant. Presuming that a knowledge of this interesting event and of the general character and important stipulations of the treaty may be satisfactory to you and useful to our country, we hasten to communicate it to you. We make this communication however in confidence, as we do a like one to Gen^l Armstrong, and that it may be delivered in safety we commit our dispatches to Major Hunt, who proposes to set out immediately for Paris.

The treaty touches all the subjects which are comprized in its title. It regulates the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British dominions in Europe on principles of strict reciprocity, equally in respect to the duties on vessels and goods or produce. Each party has a right to raise the tonnage duty on the vessels of the other, in its own ports, to a level with that which is paid by its vessels in the ports of the other party. Neither party can impose higher

* This letter and its postscript, both of which are in the handwriting of a clerk or secretary, are written on four pages of an ordinary letter sheet. Apparently the document was laid first before Mr. Pinkney, who signed both the letter and the postscript, leaving room for Mr. Monroe to sign above him, and Mr. Monroe inadvertently signed only once. — EDS.

duties on the produce or manufactures of the other than are imposed on the like articles from every other country, and all countervailing or discriminating duties on such articles to encourage the navigation of one party at the expence of the other are prohibited. The intercourse with India is placed nearly on the same footing it held by the treaty of 1794. This part of the subject gave us, in consequence of the great jealousy of the India Company, much trouble, created great delay, and was finally not arranged entirely to our satisfaction. We are however persuaded that the arrangements made will be on the whole approved. The trade with the W. Indies is left open for future adjustment, each party retaining the right to regulate it in the interim as it thinks fit. This right was reserved to enable the United States to counteract any unfair regulations of that trade by the British government, if such should be made. In favour of neutral rights some important regulations have been entered into. The great question of that trade with enemies' colonies is placed, as we presume, on a good footing. The productions of such colonies on being landed in the United States and paying a duty of two per cent to our gov^t, may be carried to Europe to the parent country, and of course to every other, in the same ship and by the same proprietor. And in like manner the manufactures and productions of the parent and other countries may be carried to the colonies, on being landed in the United States and paying there a duty of one per cent. Provisions are not contained in the list of contraband of war, nor are tar and turpentine except when destined to a place of naval equipment. The jurisdiction of the United States is acknowledged to the distance of five marine miles from their coast in favor of their merchant vessels and those of other powers who may admit the same limit. The ships of war of all nations are left on the ordinary doctrine of the publick

law respecting them. Several other points are placed on more advantageous ground than they have heretofore held. The topick of impressment is not arranged by treaty, but an understanding is obtained on it which it is presumed will be satisfactory to our government. By one of the articles the rights secured to other nations by treaty are confirmed. This stipulation extends of course to every interest of such powers, but the priviledges which were secured by the treaty between the U. States and France of 1803 to the subjects of France and Spain for a limited term in the ports of Louisiana were its principal object. The only remaining article which it is material to mention is one which stipulates that as it is the intention of the parties that they should be respectively placed on a footing of the most favored nation, should either party grant any greater priviledges in navigation and commerce to any other power, the other shall immediately participate in them: and another which secures a co-operation between the two powers to promote a complete abolition of the slave trade.

We have the honor to be, with great respect & esteem,
Y^r m. hl. servants.

JAMES BOWDOIN Esq^r,
&c., &c., &c.

W^m PINKNEY.

P. S. We omitted to mention in its proper place that the article relative to our trade with enemies' colonies, while it is understood to protect by positive concession on the part of Great Britain an intercourse with such colonies as well in the East Indies as in the West, if carried on as the article prescribes, does not in any degree prejudice (with a view either to the future or the past) the question now depending before the Lords Commissioners of Appeal as to the legality of a direct or continuous commerce between enemies' colonies in the *East* Indies and Europe, including the parent states. Upon the subject of

blockade, we think that something has been gained, not only by the treaty itself but by a written declaration of the British commissioners delivered to us at the time of the signature of the treaty, in which last a blockade is in effect defined with as much precision and as advantageously for the general interests of neutral trade as could be expected or perhaps desired.

The article relating to contraband contains a distinct abandonment of a most vexatious pretention, which has not only received judicial countenance in this country but has been sanctioned by the Orders of Council of 1803, to extend the penalty to which a trade in contraband of war is regularly liable to a resumed or return voyage after the noxious articles have been deposited.

JA^s MONROE.

W^m PINKNEY.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^R.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 31st ult^o; since w^{ch} I have rec^d y^r favor of y^e 12th ult^o, and the day before yesterday yr. accounts of y^e Spanish spoliations. I thank you for the trouble you have taken, & shall be glad to be furnished with any alterations which may be from time to time required through further information. I shall be obliged to you for your & M^r Young's opinions as to the aggregate amount of all y^e spoliations & also what part thereof may be chargeable to depredations committed under y^e Spanish flag between y^e years 1794 & 1799, & what part thereof under the French flag & carried into Spanish ports in those years? What part thereof under pretence of y^e breach of y^e Spanish colonial laws? & what part for illegal captures since y^e year 1799? Should we proceed to a negociation, a knowledge of these circumstances, or at least the best opinion w^{ch} can be collected,

may become very essential. I am aware that some uncertainty must result from these enquiries, but I consider that you & M^r Young must be able to give better opinions upon this subject than any body else, & I hope that neither you nor he will excuse yourselves.

With respect to y^e negociation, it remains in y^e same inexplicable state it has all along been, & at present there is no appearance of a change. Nevertheless y^e Emperor & y^e Prince of Beneventum are expected to shortly return to Paris, & we may soon receive intelligence from our gov^t. We may expect therefore that a negociation may be speedily opened or be removed to a greater distance than ever. We have been perplexed here for some time past with contradictory reports from Engl^d. When I last wrote to you, I gave you y^e reports of probable hostilities between G. B. & y^e U. S., but by later acc^{ts}, w^{ch} have y^e appearance of authenticity, a treaty between y^e two countries has been concluded, & y^e respective interests reconciled, but we have rec^d no official intelligence upon the subject.

I shall thank you to be particularly attentive in investigating whether there has been a grant of lands obtained, or likely to be obtained, within y^e limits of Louisiana or within either of y^e Floridas. I will hereafter state to you more particularly my reasons for [this] enquiry. I have rec^d no late news from y^e U. S., neither from y^e gov^t nor from my particular friends. Before I conclude I will just observe for yr. information that y^e late battles with y^e Russians have been very bloody & obstinate, & have produced a very opposite effect from those fought with the Prussians! Our family desire to be remembered to you.

Believe, always with very great regard, d^r Sir,
Yours, &c^a.

PARIS, January 17th, 1807.

JAMES MONROE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

COPY.

LONDON, Jan^y 20th, 1807.

DEAR SIR, — Our official dispatch will communicate to you a just view of the principal stipulations in the treaty with this government, which altho' it is not in every respect what we wished is still such an one as in my judgment will prove advantageous to our country. We flatter ourselves therefore that it will be ratified. Your remarks sent me last spring were of real use, as they give information on some points and directed my attention to others to which it was very proper to draw it. The late decree of the French gov^t (Nov. 21, at Berlin) produced a great effect here, and had like to have prevented the formation of any treaty. The example it furnished this gov^t for blockading the ports of France, Spain, &c., and seizing colony produce was so alluring that it was almost impossible to resist its influence. Notwithstanding all our efforts to prevent it, this gov^t finally declared to us in signing the treaty that if France executed that decree against the United States, and they submitted to it that it would immediately reciprocate the same policy against France. It is certain, so strong is the party in favor of the doctrines of the book called *War in Disguise*, that if France furnishes by her conduct any pretext for it it will be hastily taken advantage of. It is in my opinion equally certain that if France respects our neutral rights that G. Britain will do it. Thus you see how delicately we are circumstanced and how dependent our future prosperity as a neutral party is on the conduct of France. I make these suggestions to you in strict confidence, for all these concerns are properly (in regard to France) in the hands of our minister there, and great care should be taken neither to interfere with his rights or lessen his responsibility. This business being done, I propose to sail with my family

sometime about April for the U. States. I shall have opportunities to write you hereafter before I sail, of which I shall certainly take advantage. Will you be so good as to inform Mr. Erving (at my desire) that we have concluded a treaty. Tell him in cypher what you deem material, and express to him my regret that I have not since been able to write him, owing to the nature and urgency of my duties; having really and inadvertently lost lately a private opportunity to Madrid. I beg to refer you for other details to Major Hunt, who is a very worthy, well informed man; I presume well known to you. Mrs. Monroe and our daughter desire their best regards to Mrs. Bowdoin & Miss Winthrop, to which be so good as to add mine to the ladies and to Mr. Sullivan. I hope to hear from you by Major Hunt, and as often by other opportunities as safe ones offer. I sincerely wish you health and at a suitable time a safe return to our country, where I hope we shall have the pleasure of meeting again. I am, dear Sir, with great regard,

Very truly & sincerely yrs.

JAS. MONROE.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

PARIS, Jan. 25th, 1807.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^r.

MY D^r SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 20th inst, since w^{ch} I have rec^d your favor of y^e 10th, & notice with pleasure yr. intention of going to Aranjuez & I hope you may be able to ascertain y^e enquiry I requested ab^t land. With respect to y^e imperial decree it appears as yet to have produced no effect in Engl^d, on y^e contrary all our vessels w^{ch} have been visited by y^e British ships upon this coast have been treated with y^e greatest respect, & y^e present ministerial papers are laying claim to popularity in Engl^d grounded upon their honest & friendly disposition to

wards y^e American commerce, w^{ch} their opponents say they had the intention of plundering & bringing on a war. A treaty has been undoubtedly made, and I sincerely hope that it may not prove an injurious one like y^e last, & that our carrying trade has not been sacrificed in any material point; but I have my fears from y^e manner in w^{ch} Mr M. wrote me upon y^e subject. I perfectly agree with you, that y^e present is y^e moment for pushing them to concede equitable terms, especially as such terms must prove essentially for the permanent interest of both countries. The administration, althô I by no means think it calculated for war, was fortunate in passing y^e recriminating act, which in spite of all y^e odium w^{ch} has been thrown upon it has turned out a politic one, not that it promised an efficient operation, except as it served to shew that y^e U. S. w^d not longer bear with further depredations upon their commerce, without taking y^e hazard of an open rupture; our affairs settled with England, y^e U. S. will be more at leisure & may with y^e more safety recriminate upon Spain her perfidious conduct & punish her if she persists in a way which may strike at y^e last remnant of her respectability as a nation, althô I think y^e U. S. will not proceed further for y^e present than probably to take y^e Floridas & perhaps to place y^e boundaries of Louisiana in y^e Rio del Norte. This measure must probably result from y^e present posture of our affairs, unless timely prevented by negociation here or in America. Is—do with others is dabbling in corruption, & y^e attempt instead of money they intend to try in land, but while I am here they will find it difficult to execute their project; dont, I pray you, fail making very critical enquiries upon y^e subject agreeably to my former requests. Grants of land may be antedated, they may be made in y^e name of some Frenchman or Spaniard or of some company; you must endeavour to ascertain if any large

tract or tracts have been granted within y^e Floridas or Louisiana, to whom, & if possible to procure a copy of y^e grant or grants, and when & where made; if there is none made, whether there is any applied for, &c^a, &c^a.

I rec^d yr. letter & y^e Presid^{ts} message to Congress about y^e same time; in respect to y^e latter, I w^d observe, that althô I admire y^e general cast of y^e Presid^{ts} policy & y^e prevailing disposition of his administration, breathing peace in y^e love of it, courting it by y^e most mild & impressive language & drawing y^e most lively pictures of its consequences, in the reduction of taxes & in y^e application of y^e surplus revenue in public works instead of defensive armaments, and althô these agreeable reflections belong to him as a man, a philosopher & a philanthropist & shew y^e pure & benign motives of his heart, yet it is a question of much doubt, considering y^e nature of man, y^e human passions, & y^e actuating principles of nations, whether these pleasing pictures can be realised and whether a policy of this sort is safe & one in w^{ch} we ought under existing circumstances to confide. I confess, between ourselves, I have no confidence in them. When I consider the extent of our commerce and its vast importance to afford national wealth and protection, that it includes all the active capital of our country for the improvem^t of our soil & for y^e establishm^t of arts & manufactures, as well as for the general protection of our country, I am struck with astonishm^t when I hear members of Congress saying to y^e world, & openly avowing the sentiment, that our commerce is of no consequence, that it does not merit protection, that merch^{ts} were a distinct order in y^e state, that we had no need of them, that they should manage & protect their own commerce, &c^a. If this is to be y^e policy, I fear we shall soon be taught y^e frightful consequences of its destruction, & instead of dating a progressive & uninterrupted improvem^t from y^e close of our revolutionary war, we shall like y^e nations w^{ch} have

preceeded have occasion to draw council from our mistakes instead of lessons of advice from y^e misfortunes & experience of other nations. If you have an influence with y^e Presid^t, if he, by knowing you personally, has a confidence in your political opinions, I beg you would endeavour to state to him y^e dangers of such sentim^{ts} as are avowed by y^e principal gentlemen who support his administration. I have no time to copy my letter, & you must take it as you find it, with all its defects. My family desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always, with great regard, yours.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W^m ERVING, Esq^r.

MY D^R SIR, — I have just rec^d yr. letter of y^e 21st ult^o, & althô I have but a moment to write by this day's post, I notwithstanding will explain to you what I meant by a grant of land. I understand that all grants of lands to individuals, whether made by a Spanish gov^r, minister or other person having authority therefor, must be confirmed by the king & must be recorded at Madrid. I conclude therefore that if the gov^r of y^e Floridas, or of Louisiana before it was ceded to y^e French gov^t, had have made any grant or grants of the territory, or if a Spanish gov^r sh^d undertake to make a grant of land within the limits of y^e land now claimed by the U. S. under the pretence that it might be within the limits of one of y^e Spanish colonies, that all such grants must be confirmed by y^e king & recorded at Madrid; my request to you as contained in my letter of y^e 31st of Dec. was that you w^d cause the records to be examined to know if there had been any late grants made or confirmed within the Spanish claims to Louisiana or within either of the Floridas; or if there were no such grants, whether there had

been any application made for such, or there was on foot a project for the sale or purchase of a large tract of land within the limits of Louisiana or of either of the Floridas? My request was grounded upon an information w^{ch} had been lodged with me that such a project was on foot, & if there was such a one I wished to be apprized of it & that y^e gov^t sh^d be also, for fear that Yrujo might proceed to treat at Washington & conclude a treaty which by confirming all grants made by the King of Spain indiscriminately might render an essential injury to y^e U. S. & deprive our gov^t of one of the principal means it might expect for an indemnification of y^e purchase money. That such a project has been on foot I know; & I have a declaration from a man here who pretends to say that one of y^e persons concerned actually entrusted the secret to him, & that he was to have been employed in executing some part of y^e plan. The papers here have transcribed what they call news from Boston, in w^{ch} it is s^d that our differences with Spain are upon y^e eve of an amicable adjustm^t. I confess I did not know how to refuse all credit to y^e paragraphs, notwithstanding I have a short letter from M^r Madison dated y^e 2^d Dec. enclosing y^e Presid^{ts} mess^a, until yr. letter acquaints me that y^e Marq^s Yrujo has had no new powers. I hope, my d^r Sir, you will take care to apprize me of every scheme of speculation w^{ch} may be carrying on at Madrid with a view of transferring any part of y^e contested territory from y^e U. S. I sh^d be sorry to be made y^e dupe of any speculating scheme, or not to give due notice to y^e gov^t in case any such sh^d be attempted. I do not wish to sound an alarm without occasion, & it is on this acc^o I have written to you making the enquiries w^{ch} I have. My family desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always with great regard, yours, &c^a.

Feb. 3a, 1807.

P. S. I do not precisely understand what you mean when you say *that y^e visiting [Pa]ris is now out of y^e question.*

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W^m ERVING, Esq^r.

MY D^r SIR, — I rec^d your fav^r of y^e 18th ult^o y^e last evening, & I am glad to find that you understand what I wish to be investigated. The principles on w^{ch} grants of land within y^e Floridas or Louisiana have been made, & y^e ordonnances of y^e Spanish gov^t relating thereto, would prove a very valuable acquisition to our gov^t to prevent y^e confirmation of fraudulent grants, especially sh^d the Floridas be obtained, whether by conquest or purchase.

With respect to grants within Louisiana, w^{ch} did not actually become a Spanish colony until 1769, Don O'Riley, the first gov^r of it, regulated the number of acres in the ratio of y^e number of slaves, horses, cattle, &c^a; whether a man was single or married? if the first was 25 y^{rs} of age, had settled, enclosed & cultivated a given number of acres for three yrs., he was entitled to a grant of 200 acres; if the latter, & he had settled & improved as above, he was entitled to a grant of 200 acres for himself, 100 for his wife, 50 acres for each child, & 25 acres for each slave, provided y^e whole should not exceed 800 acres. There were other conditions of settlem^t, such as making bridges, clearing roads, &c^a. The requisite formalities were, that y^e settler on taking up a tract sh^d give notice of it to y^e command^r of y^e post within w^{ch} y^e land might lie, who when y^e conditions of settlem^t were performed gave a certificate to be presented to y^e intendant of y^e land office at New Orleans, when y^e gov^r thereupon issued a patent: a professional man or a mechanic was entitled to a grant regulated as above without being required to fulfill the conditions of settlem^t. All other grants were required, as I understand, to be under y^e sign manual of y^e King. I mention these circumstances, w^{ch} I have accidentally obtained, not vouching for their correctness, that you may see whether there are considerable grants w^{ch} have been

obtained in any other way? where and on what considerations they have been made? & whether any considerable portion of y^e country has been alienated by y^e Spanish gov^t? & if any, what?

With respect to y^e speculators upon our affairs, their first project was money to be obtained thrô y^e sale of our public stocks. Defeated in this, as I apprehend they are, they attempt a speculation upon y^e lands, & y^e Prince's spy here, said by 1501 to be fully empowered to negotiate &c^a, is quite well disposed, & has been manœuvring in a variety of ways to obtain a profitable job! whilst y^e Prince himself thrô Yrujo has been plotting other schemes to replace Louisiana in y^e hands of Spain. These plots being discovered will probably bring our affairs to an immediate crisis. If you can ascertain any thing respecting a sale or grant of lands to individuals within y^e Floridas or Louisiana w^{ch} has been lately made, or it may be antedated, you may depend that it has reference to these schemes to be resorted to in case Yrujo's plots sh^d not succeed. I hope you will leave nothing unessayed to procure y^e information. 1501 said in company a day or two since, that he expects to return home y^e present summer! that he intends to travel, &c^a. This augurs well, & looks very much like a —! for my own part I wish I had got leave to retire. I have strongly expressed y^e wish to y^e Presid^t, but have rec^d no reply; nothing however shall detain me beyond y^e adjustm^t of y^e Spanish business. Sh^d you have papers of bulk or consequence to send, M^r Merrieult is a confidential man & will take charge of them. I wish however you w^d give me notice in such case of their contents, as it will be some time before he will return to Paris.

With respect to news from y^e U. S. we have many rumours, but as yet nothing certain. From Poland y^e Emperor's ultimate success becomes daily more & more problematical; y^e last affairs have been bloody beyond

example ; both parties claim y^e victory ; but if a victory on y^e side of France, two or three more such will place y^e French army in a very critical situation. The tune, you may be assured, is very much changed ! I beg that you will acquaint me with any information you may procure on y^e subject of this letter, & with any intelligence you may have from y^e U. S. My family desire to be very particularly remembered to you. Believe me always, with great regard, very sincerely yours.

March 5th, 1807.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, Ap. 2, 1807.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you on the 10th of July last, but neither your letter of Oct. 20 nor that of Nov. 15 mentioning the receipt of it, I fear it has miscarried. I therefore now inclose a duplicate. As that was to go under cover of the Secretary of State's dispatches by any vessel going from our distant ports, I retained the polygraph therein mentioned for a safer conveyance. None such has occurred till now that the U. S. armed brig the Wasp, on her way to the Mediterranean, is to touch at Falmouth with dispatches for our ministers at London, & at Brest with others for yourself and Gen^l Armstrong. I shall deliver the polygraph to the commander of the brig to be forwarded to you with this letter. You will find it a most invaluable secretary, doing its work with correctness, facility, & secrecy. I repeat my request of your acceptance of it as a mark of my esteem & respect.

You heard in due time from London of the signature of a treaty there between Great Britain and the United States. By a letter we received in January from our ministers at London, we found they were making up their minds to sign a treaty in which no provision was made

against the impressment of our seamen, contenting themselves with a note received in the course of their correspondence from the British negociators, assuring them of the discretion with which impressments should be conducted, which could be construed into a covenant only by inferences, against which its omission in the treaty was a strong inference, and its terms totally unsatisfactory. By a letter of Feb. 3 they were immediately informed that no treaty not containing a satisfactory article on that head could be ratified & desiring them to resume the negotiations on that point, the treaty having come to us actually in the inadmissible shape apprehended, we of course hold it up until we know the result of the instructions of Feb. 3. I have but little expectation that the British government will retire from their habitual wrongs in the impressment of our seamen, & a certainty that without that we will never tie up our hands by treaty from the right of passing a non importation or non intercourse act to make it her interest to become just; this may bring on a war of commercial restrictions. To shew however the sincerity of our desire for consiliation I have suspended the non importation act. This state of things should be understood at Paris & every effort used on your part to accommodate our differences with Spain, under the auspices of France, with whom it is all important that we should stand on terms of the strictest cordiality. In fact, we are to depend on her & Russia for the establishment of neutral rights by the treaty of peace, among which should be that of taking no persons by a belligerent out of a neutral ship, unless they be the *soldiers* of an enemy. Never did a nation act towards another with more perfidy & injustice than Spain has constantly practised against us; & if we have kept our hands off of her till now, it has been purely out of respect to France and from the value we set on the friendship of France. We expect therefore from the friendship of the Emperor that he will either compel Spain to do us justice,

or abandon her to us. We ask but one month to be in possession of the city of Mexico. No better proof of the good faith of the U. S. could have been given, than the vigour with which we have acted, & the expense incurred in suppressing the enterprize meditated lately by Burr against Mexico. Altho' at first he proposed a separation of the Western country and on that ground received encouragement and aid from Yrujo according to the usual spirit of his government towards us, yet he very early saw that the fidelity of the Western country was not to be shaken, and turned himself wholly towards Mexico, & so popular is an enterprize on that country in this, that we had only to lie still, & he would have had followers enough to have been in the city of Mexico in six weeks. You have doubtless seen my several messages to Congress which gave a faithful narrative of that conspiracy. Burr himself, after being disarmed by our endeavors of all his followers, escaped from the custody of the court of Mississippi, but was taken near Fort Stoddert, making his way to Mobile, by some country people, who brought him on as a prisoner to Richmond, where he is now under a course for trial. Hitherto we have believed our law to be that suspicion on probable grounds was sufficient cause to commit a person for trial, allowing time to collect witnesses till the trial; but the Judges here have decided that conclusive evidence of guilt must be ready in the moment of arrest or they will discharge the malefactor. If this is still insisted on Burr will be discharged, because his crimes having been sown from Maine thro' the whole line of the western waters to N. Orleans, we cannot bring the witnesses here under four months. The fact is that the federalists make Burr's cause their own, & exert their whole influence to shield him from punishment, as they did the adherents of Miranda, and it is unfortunate that federalism is still predominant in our judiciary department, which is consequently in opposi-

tion to the legislative & executive branches, and is able to baffle their measures often. Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great esteem and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — Ab^t a week since I rec^d your favour of y^e 5th of Mar. & I sh^d have sooner replied to it, had I have had anything of importance to say; but being oppressed with writing and not very well & in hopes of having something to communicate from y^e gov^t or at least from y^e U. S. I deferred it. But of late we have had no arrivals & I have seen no papers later than y^e 8th of Jan. Your letters of y^e 22 Dec. & of y^e 3d of Jan. were duly rec^d. If you wrote me on y^e 5th it has been miscarried.

Yr. obliging letter of y^e 21st ult^o I rec^d y^e last evening, & I am glad to see your reply to M^r Cevallos's note. I am desirous to know what assurances he has given you that y^e order in question will not reach the vessells of y^e U. S. bound to England, & that it is not a virtual or an open & declared violation & repeal of y^e treaty with y^e U. S. Gen^l Armstrong, I understand, rec^d assurances from this gov^t, that y^e French decree was not intended to molest American vessels bound to Engl^d, only to prevent them from coming from Engl^d to France with a view of excluding the sale of English manufactures in France. This explanation however has not been publicly given. I believe I shall write him a few lines to ascertain what passed between him & y^e Minister of the Marine upon this subject. The Spanish gov^t cannot think of giving a construction to y^e decree, w^{ch} the French themselves do not. I hope however that y^e measures of our gov^t will shew to Spain the necessity of becoming more circumspect in her conduct than she has lately shown herself towards y^e U. S.

By late acc^{ts} from Engl^d new changes are taking place; the late ministry are put down, and it is s^d that y^e Dke. of Portland is to be prime minister, Dke. of Rutland L^d L^t of Ireland. L^{ds} Eldon, Hawkesbor^o, &c^a, Geo Rose, Mr Percival & others are to form y^e administration. What these vacillations will end in it is impossible to say; they can answer no good purpose, but must have a tendency to confusion & to weaken their efforts in y^e present contest. The Emperor must see these divisions with pleasure, when his situation has become by all acc^{ts} quite embarrassing. It has arisen from y^e ill-judged measure of carrying on a winter's campaign in a climate better suited to y^e troops of his enemies than his own. But as his military talents are transcendant he will probably rise superior to y^e difficulties w^{ch} surround him. In w^{ch} case you may be assured he will not forget the plottings agst him at Madrid, now made certain by what has been exposed in Sir Home Popham's trial. How y^e Prince will be able to make his peace I know not. I wish you w^d let me know if Mr M. has been as inattentive in writing to you as he has been to me. If he has written pray let me know y^e general contents of his letters; pray continue to investigate y^e subject of my late letters. My family desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always, with great regard, very respectfully yours.

April 4th, 1807.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W. ERVING, ESQR.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 4th & 6th instant; y^e latter enclosed important letters from the Minister of Marine, M. Decré, to Gen^l Armstrong. The last evening I rec^d yr. obliging letter of y^e 6th inst^t with its enclosure, for w^{ch} I thank you & also for the intelligence of y^e ratification of y^e British treaty. I ought to acquaint you that it has not been ratified by y^e British gov^t,

but is to be returned for that purpose. Mr Monroe, I understand, waits for it; but whether y^e late changes in y^e ministry are favourable to y^e ratification or will throw impediments in y^e way of it is somewhat doubtful. With respect to your letters, I believe by recurring to those I have written to you, you will find that they have been regularly acknowledged. We are daily expecting intelligence from the gov^t; but as yet we know not what line of conduct will be adopted towards Spain. Some appearances indicate decision & measures of an unequivocal nature, but the President's message of y^e 16th of Jan. relative to Col^o Burr's conspiracy seems to have a contrary appearance; there was certainly a very considerable force collected at New Orleans in Jan. last & such a one as Col^o Burr's attempts could not authorize; & by letters rec^d from New Orleans written y^e middle of Jan^a, many people without any authority supposed that from y^e force collected, active measures against one or both y^e Floridas were intended; but all is conjecture upon this subject. If you receive anything w^{ch} may serve to explain it I hope you will give me y^e earliest notice of it, as I shall take care to do on my part as soon as I receive any thing w^{ch} may be depended on. Dont fail to keep in mind the land project of w^{ch} I have so frequently written you.

Mr^s B., Miss W., & Mr S. desire to be remembered to you; y^e latter setts out for Switzerland in two or three days; he expects to be absent a month.

Believe me always, with very great regard,

My dear Sir, yours, &c^a.

PARIS, April 18th, 1807.

HENRY DEARBORN TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, April 24th, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—By the U. S. ship Wasp I imbrace the opportunity of congratulating you on the Republican

triumph in the Massachusetts election; there is no remaining doubt of a very handsome majority on the side of true principles. The treaty negotiated in London by our ministers is not as satisfactory as had been hoped and expected; farther amicable negotiations will be proposed, but the late change said to have taken place in the British administration may render ultimate success doubtful. As we ask for nothing but good neighborhood and fair dealing, with sound and equal reciprocity, we ought to expect no serious objections on the part of Great Britain, but notwithstanding the importance of our trade with them at present, and its regular & constant increase, it would seem that remaining prejudice and national jealousies on the score of our rapid increase of strength and commerce absorbs all other considerations, and crowds the real interest of the nation as well as all regard to justice quite out of sight; as to justice, unless compeled by immediate danger or some other sinister motive, the old nations of the world appear not to consider it as a constituent part of their political or national creed, we have therefore nothing to expect from that quarter in any of our negotiations, except with the Indians of this country.

It does not appear that any progress has been made in relation to our affairs with Spain, nothing, I presume, will be done without the direct aid of Napoleon, and he appears to have so many other objects of importance to attend to as to render it very doubtful whether he will find sufficient leisure for some time to come to decide on what Spain shall do; if we could be allowed to settle the business with Spain without any interference of France, we would very soon put an end to the negotiations, and altho peace is the general wish of our country there would be very little reluctance to a brush with Spain, we could in a very short time dispossess his Catholic Majesty of all his possessions north of the southern extremity of

the Isthmus of Darien. We do not covet their territories or their mines, but they are certainly in our power, as much so as the British provinces of Canada, Novascotia, & New Brunswick are. I hope any coolness which may have existed between yourself & Gen^l A. has disappeared; you both owe to yourselves, as well as to your country, every effort in your power to support the most harmonious and confidential intercourse, no opinions can be formed here as to which side the apparent want of harmony is imputable; it is a subject of much regret and may have an unfortunate effect.

Please to request M^{rs} Bowdoin to accept the tender of my best respects, while you accept assurances of my highest esteem and best wishes for your health & happiness.

H. DEARBORN.

HON^l JAMES BOWDOIN.

P. S. From some observations in one of your letters to the Secretary of State, it was conjectured that you had imbraced some part of J. Randolph's creed, viz., that Great Britain is fighting the battles of the world, and that she is the only remaining barrier against general despotism; the federalists all adhere to that creed. If the U. S. are to rely on the exartions of Britain for the preservation of civil liberty, then we are wretched indeed. I had presumed that the more the Emperor of France extended his dominion in Europe, the less leisure he would have for distant objects, that it would require an immense military force as well as all his vigilance to hold with security the dominions he probably contemplates reducing to his control. If he had confined his views in Europe to the limits of France as settled by the revolution, and had formed such friendly arrangements with his neighbors as would have secured the tranquility of his dominions at home & abroad, we might have had some cause of fear, either from his ambition, his disapprobation of our sistem of government, or from a combination with

England, to endeavor to divide the U. S. between them. But, whether from necessity on the score of self preservation, or from inordinate ambition, or a combination of both, I will not undertake to decide, he appears to have as much business on hand as will probably occupy his attention for several years at least. A herd of wolves would not, I presume, be considered as a very safe or even necessary barrier to a flock of sheep against a lion, especially if the lion had plenty of other prey within his more immediate reach. The wolves in such a case might with great rage make war on the lion, not merely because he was a lion, but because he was their rival in the business of devouring all other animals fit for food.

H. D.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — My letter of y^e 5th of March acknowledges yours of y^e 18th of Feb., since w^{ch} my letters of y^e 6th & 16th of April remain unacknowledged; & I have rec^d yours of y^e 5th & 21st of Mar. & of y^e 6th, 8th, & 16th of April. I thank you for the copies of y^e President's message of y^e 19th of Feb., M^r Lear's circular letter of y^e 1st of March, & of your correspondance with y^e Spanish ministers. The Minister of Marine's notes to General Armstrong & y^e judgement of y^e C^t of Prizes w^{ch} I forwarded to you, to w^{ch} I might add if wanted some farther judgem^{ts} of y^e same court, shew in y^e clearest manner that this gov^t does not mean to interrupt our commerce direct to & from y^e British islands or to or from y^e British colonies, or in any case except when proceeding direct from the British European or colonial ports to the ports of France or of her allies. Grounded upon the documents forwarded, I think you ought to require that y^e explanation of y^e French decree sh^d be made as public as y^e order

w^{ch} adopts it; for by y^e unlimited manner in w^{ch} y^e Spanish order is expressed the vessels & merchandizes bound to y^e ports of Engl^d or its islands are made liable to confiscation, contrary to the intention of y^e French gov^t. This circumstance calls for the explanation w^{ch} sh^d be made public for the benefit as well of Spanish subjects as American citizens. The news you gave me concerning y^e acceptance of y^e British treaty turns out to be incorrect; and it is now a question here what is y^e state of y^e treaty? A New York paper of y^e 10th of Mar. says, that y^e Presid^t was determined to send it back without laying it before y^e Senate, owing to an exceptionable article concerning y^e French decree; whilst there are private letters w^{ch} say, it will be certainly ratified. My opinion is, however, that y^e middle path will be taken, and that it will be again submitted to the British governm^t with amendments.

The administration must be greatly embarrassed from its system so purely pacific, and what consequences will not result from y^e want of decision & principle it is difficult to say. Had y^e administration not been intangled with inofficial propositions & cajoled by a set of schemers here it might have triumphed every where, but appearances augur nothing favourable and y^e marks of a weak, inefficient system are every where exhibited; — distracted & divided at home, respected by no foreign power but hated by all! unsettled questions with both Spain & England, with motive enough for France to embark her ambitious intrigues in our political concerns, cannot afford a pleasant perspective to a man at y^e close of his political life, sat verbum. I wish him well, but he has bad advisers! My [*torn*] intention is at all hazards to retire. What is here sugge[sted] is confidential.

My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me always, with great regard, yrs., &c^a &c^a.

April 28th, 1807.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^R.

MY D^R SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 17th, 18th, & 28th ultimo, to w^{ch} please to be refered. I am now to acknowledge your favour of y^e 22d, & to acquaint you that we are not yet apprized of y^e precise situation of our affairs with England; we know not whether y^e Senate are called together to consider y^e treaty or that it is sent back by y^e President. We have late intelligence that eleven sail of our ships have been lately carried into England for adjudication. This gov^t however receives y^e most favourable hopes from y^e prospect of our quarrelling with Engl^d as they know it touches close upon her political existence; but whether they will upon y^e credit of these hopes yield to y^e views of our gov^t, or whether if they have y^e disposition they have an adequate influence over y^e Spanish councils is somewhat doubtful. Some circumstances indicate that Spain feels herself more independent in her situation than she has been for some time past. To what terms can Spain be brô^t to concede y^e Floridas whilst we continue on the present system of disavowing all war & all preparation for it? Can this gov^t induct her into our policy agst one w^{ch} she considers opposed to her interest? This is a question on w^{ch} I sh^d be glad of your opinion, and I wish you to be particular in stating it. I apprehend the moment is arrived which will call for your particular attention to ascertain y^e views & policy of y^e Spanish gov^t towards y^e U. S. and how far it is disposed to be acted upon by this gov^t. 1501 & an Irishman by y^e name of O'Mealy set out for Warsaw on Sunday next; and he leaves another Irish refugee for his charg^e d'affaires. What he expects from this step, — whether he is invited to it by this gov^t in consequence of y^e situation of our affairs with Engl^d, or whether it is grounded on y^e orders of our gov^t or his own particular views, it is impossible to say; he

has as yet given me no notice of his going nor shall I enquire into his motives. His conduct to me continues as usual inexplicable, base & improper.

I yesterday rec^d dispatches from M^r M., dated on y^e 20th of Jan., in w^{ch} he encloses me his letter to you of y^e same date; I herewith send you a copy. He says that both you & I have written him in cyphers of w^{ch} they have no copies; for my own part with y^e exception of a few lines in one of my letters to y^e President, I have used no cyphers. Pray keep me informed of every movement w^{ch} may take place from this to the Spanish gov^t & let me know what is y^e present situation & credit of Isquierdo. Dont forget to keep open an easy communication with *your old friend*, you understand me, from whom you drew very important information at a critical period the last year.

With respect to affairs in the North, y^e Emperor I am convinced was never in a situation w^{ch} called for so full a display of his talents as at this time. The Russians are in immense force; Austria refuses supplies to y^e French armies & is in great force. The military talents of y^e Russians have been confessed since y^e battle of Eylau, w^{ch} was not a victory but a drawn battle by y^e confession of all respectable Frenchmen. The Russians retreated the night after y^e battle in consequence of Marsh^l Ney's joining with a fresh body of troops; but y^e Russians during y^e battle did not lose an inch of ground, and without y^e intervention of a bold charge from y^e French cavalry under Prince Murat w^d have obtained a complete victory. I mention these circumstances only to shew you that things are brôt to a very serious issue, & that y^e dispute with Russia will not be settled in that prompt & ready manner in w^{ch} Austria was beaten out of y^e coalition by y^e treaty of Presburg. Adieu, dont fail writing me & keeping me informed of every transaction or occurrence.

My family, with y^e exception of M^r Sullivan, who is gone to Switzerland, desire to be remembered to you.

PARIS, May 8th, 1807.

JAMES MADISON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 25, 1807.

SIR, — Your letter of Dec^r 2^d came duly to hand. All of prior date, as appears by their successive references, were equally fortunate. The President has also received your two letters of Oct^r 20 and Nov^r 15.

It is painful to find that the reserve and mystery which have so long enveloped our affairs with Spain still embarrass the efforts to bring them to a proper state. The protracted delay is certainly not a little hazardous to the peace of the two nations, which has thus far been preserved by the moderation of the United States in spite of the folly of the other party. The conduct of Spain is not easily explained. Several causes have probably united in producing her obstinate repugnance to meet our reasonable overtures; perhaps the most powerful may have been a calculation that she would have in any event the support of one or other of the two great rivals of Europe, and that her dexterity would be able to connect her with whichever of them should ultimately be ascendant. It would seem impossible, however, that a crisis can be much longer procrastinated. The obstructions which are thrown in the way of the trade thro' the Mobbille, and even of the use of the river by the government of the United States for public purposes, are kindling a flame which will not be very manageable. The last letter from Mr Erving which was of March 14, communicated the Spanish decree co-operating with that of Nov^r 21 by the French Emperor, which is in terms giving equal latitude with its prototype for depredations on our commerce, and which, if so executed, will add fuel to the flame. Mr Erving promises that his next letter would not only give explanations on that subject, but have something to say as to our affairs generally with the Spanish government.

The enterprize of Col^o Burr has been stifled. I inclose

a printed statement of what passed on his examination before the Chief Justice, in which you will find an account of his arrest, the charges against him, and the opinion of the Judge. His trial was to commence on the 22^d. It seems not to be doubted that he will be convicted of a misdemeanor, if not of treason. The effective measures taken to defeat an enterprize understood to be aimed at the Spanish possessions are a decisive proof of the good faith and honor which govern the Councils of the United States, and derive a peculiar lustre from their contrast with the intrigues and perfidy of Spain. Besides a series of these to be traced thro' a period of years, there is sufficient reason to believe that at the moment of our exertions to save Mexico from invasion and revolution 1362. 518. 1417. 1364. 390. 956. 1193. 542. 66.* [Y sec rateing] with 685. 849. 509. 1651. [Burr on the] idea that the 1230. 1426. 390. 1201. 1651. 359. 1147. 509. [Plot was against y^e Union] It deserves enquiry what agencies and intrigues represented the partnership 742. 44. [at Madrid].

The treaty signed with the British commissioners in Dec^r has not received the approbation of the President. An essential objection lay against its want of a provision against impressments. In some other respects, it was not satisfactory [*torn*] instructions go to our ministers by the Wasp sloop of war, which, on her way from England to the Mediterranean, is to touch at a French port to deliver this and other dispatches. The late change in the British administration, if the new one keeps on its legs, has an inauspicious aspect on our affairs with that government; but it is so much the interest on that side, as well as this, to avoid extremities that something may be hoped from further discussions and explanations.

* In deciphering these figures Mr. Bowdoin omitted some of the words for which they were substituted; but the general sense is sufficiently clear, — that Yrujo engaged in a secret correspondence with Burr with the idea that the latter was engaged in a plot against the United States. See Mr. Jefferson's letter, *ante*, p. 373. — Eds.

Be pleased to accept a late statistical publication here, which gives some interesting views of our growing faculties; and to be assured of the great esteem and respect with which I remain, Sir,

Your most ob^t se^t.

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq. &c., &c., &c., Paris.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO THE PRINCE OF BENEVENTO.*

PARIS, 12 June, 1807.

SIR, — In the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 30 of frimaire year 13 you were pleased to declare that “the French gov^t acknowledges that it cannot be indifferent to discussions originating from a treaty by which France had ceded Louisiana to the United States, and that his Majesty had thought that an explanation, made with the good faith which characterises him, on the Eastern limit of the ceded territory, would bring to an end the differences to which this cession had given place.”

This declaration could not but be precious to the United States, inasmuch as they saw in it a pledge that his Majesty’s justice would not permit the limits of a territory ceded by him to become a cause of serious controversy between them and a third power.

Nor was this confidence shaken by the explanations actually given by his Majesty in relation to this eastern boundary, since in these his Majesty has declared that all the rights acquired by Spain from France in the year 1762 over this territory, had been *retro-ceded* to her in that of 1800; and that whatever these rights thus *retro-ceded* to France in the year 1800 had been, they were

* This and the four following letters are printed from copies sent to Mr. Bowdoin by General Armstrong. — Eds.

yielded by her to the United States in that of 1803. Your Excellency will permit me for the sake of greater perspicuity to employ the very words of this explanation, viz. "France, in ceding Louisiana to the United States, has passed to them all the rights she had acquired from Spain over this Colony. She was neither willing nor able to yield to them any others: and to leave no doubt in this respect, she has repeated in her treaty of the 10th of floreal year 11, the littoral expressions of that of S^t Ildephonso by which she had, two years before acquired this colony. By this treaty of the year 9 it was stipulated, that the acquisition of Louisiana by France was a *retro-cession*; — that is to say, that *Spain rendered back to France what she had received from her in 1762.*"

This decision of his Majesty which can neither be misstated nor mistaken, reduces the controversy between the United States and Spain (on the subject of limits) to a single question, viz: What before the year 1762 was the western boundary of Louisiana? and on this question the United States appeal to the archives of the French Empire and to the good faith with which its chief will be pleased to have their evidence assembled and declared.

His Majesty will not, I flatter, think the gov^t of the union importunate on this subject; he will remember that it is now upwards of four years since they became regularly seized of "an incontestible title to the domain and possession" of the territory known by the name of Louisiana; that this title has been derived to them directly from his Majesty himself; that they have long since honorably discharged all the conditions which on their part attached to the transfer; that unfortunately and as they believe without any error of theirs, this cession has given rise to a controversy between them and his Catholic Majesty; that they have repeatedly and zealously sought by ordinary as well as extraordinary means to bring this controversy to an amicable termination, and

that among these and the last of them is the present appeal to his Majesty, as the mutual friend of the contending parties. It is quite impossible but that in some or all of these circumstances his Majesty will find not merely a sufficient justification of the urgent character of this application but a sufficient motive also for not longer differing the employment of his very just and powerful interposition.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

(Signed)

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

H. EX. THE PRINCE OF BENEVENT.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO THE PRINCE OF BENEVENTO.

16 June, 1807, PARIS.

SIR,—If I have not, in the letters I have had the honor to adress to your Excellency on the 5th of February and 12^a instant, spoken of any point in discussion between the United States and Spain other than that of the western boundary of Louisiana, it has arisen altogether from the indisposition manifested by the ministers of his Catholic Majesty to bring this business to an amicable termination; and not because the government I have the honor to represent has contracted, or in any other way changed, their views in relation to a general settlement of differences. And as a new proof of this disposition on their part I am instructed to present to your Excellency for his Majesty's inspection the terms which on those hypotheses the U. S. are willing to take as grounds of negociation & arrangement with Spain. These hypotheses are;—

1° That Spain is unwilling to part with her rights (territorial or other) on the eastern side of the Mississippi:

2° That Spain is willing to part with that portion only of her territory which may lye eastward of the Mississippi and westward of the river S^t Mark: and

3° That Spain is willing to part with all the territory claimed by her on the eastern side of the Mississippi.

On the first hypothesis it is proposed that in conformity to the opinion given by his Majesty the Emperor and King on the 30th of frimaire year 13, the rivers Mississippi and Ibberville, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchatrain, be deemed and taken as the eastern limit of Louisiana; and that the river Bravo (or Norte) (from its mouth to its source) and the mountains of Mexico to the 60 degree of north latitude, be taken and established as the western limit of that territory, agreeably to the act of the French King (dated at Fontainebleu the 14th of Sept., 1712) designating the limits and constituting the gov^t of Louisiana, and agreeably also to the more recent declaration made by Monsieur Laussat, Commissary of France charged with the delivery of this territory to the United States under the treaty of 1803.

On the 2nd hypothesis it is proposed, that in proportion as Spain shall cede her rights between the rivers S^t Mark and Mississippi to the United States, in the same proportion will the United States yield their pretensions on their western limit to Spain; and if all the rights of Spain between the rivers aforesaid (S^t Mark & Mississippi) be ceded to the United States, they (the United States) will not hesitate to yield to his Catholic Majesty all the country between the rivers Bravo and Collerado.

On the 3^d hypothesis it is proposed, that for the entire cession of the Floridas (East & West) to the United States, they (the U. S.) will pay to Spain [*blank*] millions of dollars and will take as their western boundary the Sabine river (from its mouth to its source) and a line which shall leave within the United States all streams and all countries watered by streams running directly or

indirectly into the river Mississippi ; or, the United States in consideration of the cession of the two Floridas as afforesaid will pay to Spain [*blank*] millions of dollars and take as their western boundary the river Collerado (from its mouth to its source) and the ridge or high-lands which divide the waters flowing into the rivers Mississippi and Missouri from those running into the river Bravo & the Gulph of Mexico.

On either hypothesis, those citizens of the United States who were creditors of Spain before the year 1802, shall be paid by his Catholic Majesty, either in the mode pointed out by the non-executed treaty of 1802, or by the United States (who shall in that case be credited to the amount payable by Spain out of the sum which shall be agreed upon as the price of the Floridas) or by Spain herself in bills drawn on her American colonies.

All debts due by either government to the citizens of the other, and contracted since the date of the aforesaid non-executed treaty, shall be made the subject of future arrangement.

I flatter myself that his Majesty will find in these terms not merely a disposition on the part of the United States to terminate this business amicably but to do it in a manner which cannot fail to promote the true interests of both nations.

I pray your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ARMSTRONG.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRINCE OF BENEVENT.

Extrait d'une lettre datée de Tilsit, 6 Juillet, 1807.

“Je n'ai pas habituellement répondu aux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Les mouvemens d'un voyage permettent moins de suivre une correspondance de tous les instans ; mais les affaires dont votre Excellence m'a entretenu ne sont pas perdues de vue, et dans toutes les occasions j'en rends compte à sa Majesté.

Elle voit avec plaisir que les discussions des Etats-Unis avec l'Espagne continuent de se suivre par voie de négociation ; et elle espère, d'après l'esprit de conciliation qui anime les deux puissances, que le bon voisinage du gouvernement fédéral et des possessions Espagnoles ne sera point altéré.

“ J'ai l'honneur, &c.

“(Signé) CH. M^{CR} TAILLERAND
Prince de Benevent.”

KOENISBERG, 13 Juillet, 1807.

S. E. M. G^L ARMSTRONG.

MONSIEUR, — J'ai reçu les lettres que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser sous la date du 12 et du 16 Juin.

Avant d'y répondre je m'empresse d'annoncer d'abord à votre Excellence que la paix entre la France et la Russie a été conclue le 7 de ce mois à Tilsit, et qu'elle a été conclue le 9 entre la France et la Prusse. L'amitié qui unit la France et les Etats-Unis me fait penser que votre gouvernement en apprendra la nouvelle avec plaisir.

Cette circonstance, qui m'a déjà ramené de Tilsit à Koenisberg, me donne l'espérance d'être bientôt à Paris et de reprendre avec plus de suite et d'efficacité qu'on ne pourrait le faire à de si longues distances, la correspondance relative aux affaires qui intéressent les deux pays.

Vous voulez bien, Monsieur, me donner communication des bases sur lesquelles votre gouvernement désirerait terminer ses arrangemens avec l'Espagne. Le gouvernement Français ne peut qu'être sensible à cette marque de confiance. Il a vu avec plaisir cesser toutes les discussions qui s'étaient élevées sur les limites orientales de la Louisiane et il espère que quoique les limites occidentales n'aient pas encore été arrêtées entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis, cette indécision, que des commissaires nommés de part et d'autre pourrait faire cesser nuira d'autant moins à la bonne intelligence des deux pays

qu'il paraît que les territoires où peut être tracée cette ligne de démarcation sont peu peuplés, peu cultivés, et renferment à peine quelques établissemens Européens.

La France, pendant une possession de quatre vingts ans, n'avait eu aucune discussion grave avec l'Espagne sur les limites occidentales de la Louisiane. La même question ne peut point devenir plus orageuse entre les Etats-Unis et l'Espagne, que je crois également animés de vues de conciliation, et qui ayant nommé des plénipotentiaires à Madrid, pour l'entendre sur tous les points, ont témoigné par cette mesure qu'ils désiraient ne procéder que par des voies amicales.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur toujours disposée à n'approuver que des mesures conciliantes, et à blâmer toute disposition qui y serait contraire, désire que le résultat des négociations commencées à Madrid tende à affermir chaque jour davantage le bon voisinage des Etats-Unis et des possessions de sa Majesté Catholique.

Agréez, Monsieur, les assurances de ma haute considération.

(Signé) CH. MAUR. TALLERAND,
Prince de Bénévent.

S. E. M. LE GEN^L ARMSTRONG.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO THE PRINCE OF BENEVENTO.

The French copy of this letter
was inserted by mistake.*

PARIS, 8 Août, 1807.

MONSIEUR, — Il paraîtrait, d'après les lettres que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 6 et le 13 du mois d^{er}, que sa Majesté l'Empereur, croyant qu'une négociation était actuellement ouverte à Madrid entre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et l'Espagne n'avait pas jugé convenable de donner ces explications par rapport aux

* Marginal note by General Armstrong. — Eds.

bornes occidentales de la Louisiane que, dans mes lettres du 5 de Février et du 16 Juin derniers, je m'étais fait un point de solliciter, et que je présume, on aurait données sans cette circonstance. Je me hâte donc d'assurer à votre Excellence qu'il n'existe à présent aucune négociation entre les Etats-Unis et sa Majesté Catholique ; qu'en aucun tems, depuis la date du traité non-exécuté de 1802, l'Espagne n'a découvert aucune envie sérieuse de traiter ; que, pendant la négociation de 1804 et 1805, non seulement elle rejetta les ouvertures faites par les ministres Américains, mais qu'elle refusa d'y substituer aucuns termes à son propre choix ; qu'il s'est écoulé plus de douze mois depuis qu'elle a eu connaissance d'une seconde mission extraordinaire du même lieu, et des conditions d'après les qu'elles on pouvait ajuster cette controverse que cette nouvelle démarche faite dans des vues pacifiques avait été suivie de côté de l'Espagne de mesures extraordinaires ; en Amérique on a violé son territoire, et en Europe elle avait, par une nomination d'un genre nouveau et illusoire, fait un plénipotentiaire sans pouvoirs ; en un mot, que le passé et le présent confirment dans l'opinion, que les moyens employés, récemment par les Etats-Unis pour terminer à l'amiable cette controverse ont, ainsi que ceux adoptés avant, manqué leur but.

C'était cet état de choses qui fit désirer et rendait comme nécessaire aux Etats-Unis de réclamer auprès de sa Majesté l'Empereur, une explication par rapport aux limites occidentales de la Louisiane. N'espérant plus rien de la justice de l'Espagne, et s'apercevant qu'il était possible que sa Majesté Imperiale refusât de faire mettre beaucoup d'activité dans son entremise, ou de la faire suivre d'un plein effet, il leur fallut pour atteindre à leur but prendre des moyens d'un ordre différent, et tels qu'ils ne les dûssent qu'à eux seuls. Ces moyens ne manquaient pas : mais avant d'y avoir recours, le gouvernement de l'Union, voulant en chérissant la justice,

éviter d'avoir des torts, crût qu'il était de son devoir d'en appeler aux archives de l'Empire pour se procurer un titre officiel des limites occidentales de la Louisiane telle qu'elle avait été cédée par la France à l'Espagne en l'année 1762, et à la franchise de sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale pour en obtenir une communication de ce titre.

Je prie donc votre Excellence, qu'elle ait la bonté de mettre ce nouvel exposé des vues et des desirs de l'Union devant sa Majesté, et de lui exprimer leur confiance entière, que si pour quelques raisons, elle ne jugeait pas à propos d'interposer les bons offices de manière à faire terminer à l'amiable ces differends, elle condescendra du moins à céder à leurs instances, et à leur faire donner communication des archives de France en ce qui concerne les limites d'un territoire qui ne leur a pas simplement été cédé par sa Majesté, mais qui leur a été cédé comme "une forte preuve de l'amitié de sa Majesté."

Votre Excellence me permettra de lui offrir les nouvelles assurances de ma très haute consideration.

(Signé) JOHN ARMSTRONG.

S. E. Min. de Relat. Ext:
Prince de Benevent.

Note. No answer to this letter has yet been received.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W^M ERVING, Esq^R.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you on y^e 31st of May, since w^{ch} I have rec^d your favour of y^e 20th of y^e same month. Owing to many causes physical & political, I have been quite unwell; but I have got somewhat better, w^{ch} enables me to say that I do not altogether agree with you in y^e propriety of y^e desultory measures w^{ch} have been pursued. With respect to Gen. A. he did not proceed to y^e imperial head quarters as was expected; it is

said that when he applied for a pass-port to go it was refused; so that nothing has, is, or is likely to be done; and it is now probable that peace will take place & leave open & unadjusted our disputes with Spain as well as with Engl^d; but I will not enter upon y^e subject of y^e consequences w^{ch} may be expected from y^e establishment of a general peace at this time.

Mr Dorr of Boston this day brôt me letters from Mr Monroe & Mr Hunt dated on y^e 17th of June; y^e former was impatiently waiting y^e arrival of y^e Wasp sloop of war with y^e ultimate instructions of the President. The refusal of y^e treaty has caused some sensation in Engl^d, & they will probably adopt a line of conduct as hostile as they dare; many of our vessels have been taken & those w^{ch} were engaged in a trade to S^o America, they have declared to be in a state of blockade, have been condemned. It is publicly s^d, I understand, that our trade has become so great that it ought to excite y^e jealousy of y^e British nation; & that it ought to be curtailed: whether this will be y^e language when y^e news of y^e late defeat of y^e Russians shall arrive in Engl^d I cant say. I am inclined to believe, that their conduct will be vexatious to our commerce, & as destructive to it as our patience will allow, but they will steer clear of open hostilities.

As soon as y^e dispatches w^{ch} I expect by y^e Wasp shall arrive, I shall take a journey of a fortnight or three weeks & return to Paris, but any letters or information w^{ch} you may forward will find me thrô Mr Barnet.

I thank you for the information given by Mr Young, but I still hope he will not relax in his enquiries, notwithstanding I am confident that y^e land scheme has been suspended.

Mr Sullivan has returned from Switzerland; his brother who was accidentally killed by the discharge of a pistol was named W^m Bant S. Enclosed you will rec^e a letter

from M^r Hunt who was on y^e point of embarking for y^e U. S. when M^r Dorr left Engl^d. My family all join me in regards.

Believe, d^r Sir, very faithfully yours, &c^a, &c^a.

PARIS, July 1st, 1807.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am glad to observe by your letter of y^e 21st ult^o, that M^r Madison's dispatch has at length reached you, & that you have presented a note upon the subject of it to y^e governm^t of Spain. I sh^d be glad to have a copy of it, & of your correspond^{ce}, if you can send it conveniently; M^r Merriault will doubtless take charge of your letters to me.

In regard to my taking a journey, my health actually calls for it, & I shall not relinquish y^e design without a prospect of doing something to effect. I have kept myself a prisoner here nearly two years in a most extraordinary situation putting up with every indignity as a minister, in hopes that some benefit might accrue therefrom to our country! and I am sorry to add that there seems to be little prospect of a change! The Wasp however is probably arrived at the Texel, & I expect in a few days to see M^r Rittenhouse of Phil^a who is charged with dispatches both to Gen. A. & me. The report of y^e day is that y^e Emperor is expected at Paris at the latter end of y^e month, and that he will bring with him the treaty of peace upon the continent. England, it is s^d, will not be included in it; so that we may soon hope to know how far this gov^t will interfere with her good offices in y^e adjustm^t of our disputes with Spain. I beg you will give me y^e anecdotes you mention on y^e subject of the speculations you have found out and if you can

ascertain y^e views of y^e Spanish gov^t in regard to y^e proposed negotiation or to this or our own gov^{ts}, it will render an essential service: it will be important also to know in case of impedim^{ts} being thrown in y^e way of y^e negotiations, whether they spring from this or the Spanish gov^t & what steps ought to be taken to remove them? I have heard nothing lately of Isqui——o; is he at Madrid or Paris? & is it probable that he will be y^e minister to negotiate in case a negotiation sh^d take place? Let me know also how you stand with your old friend? you know who I mean. Pray keep me informed upon these or any other points w^{ch} you may consider interesting.

I have just rec^d letters from Boston to y^e 25 of May; they contain nothing particularly important, except that Judge Sullivan is chosen Governor, & that Judge Lewis & all the Livingstons are thrown out of office in y^e state of N. York. Similar changes are likely to take place in Pensilvania: these things have the appearance, as it is s^d, of introducing Gov^r Clinton to y^e chair of y^e U. S. at y^e next election; but who will be y^e next Presid^t I conceive to be quite uncertain. Our friends at Boston were generally well, except my sister who had been indisposed & was recovering.

My family all desire to be particularly remembered to you. Believe me always with great regard, d^r Sir, very sincerely yours, &c^a, &c^a.

PARIS, July 9th, 1807.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 07.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you on the 10th of July, 06, but supposing from your not acknoleging the receipt of the letter, that it had miscarried, I sent a duplicate with my

subsequent one of Apr. 2; these having gone by the Wasp, you will doubtless have recieved them. Since that, yours of May 1 is come to hand. You will see by the dispatches from the Department of State carried by the armed vessel the Revenge, into what a critical state our peace with Gr. Britain is suddenly brought by their armed vessels in our waters. Four vessels of war (3 of them two-deckers) closely blockade Norfolk at this instant; of the authority under which this aggression is committed their minister here is unapprised. You will see by the proclamation of July 2 that (while we are not omitting such measures of force as are immediately necessary) we propose to give Gr. Br. an opportunity of disavowal & reparation, and to leave the question of war, non-intercourse, or other measures, uncommitted to the legislature. This country has never been in such a state of excitement since the battle of Lexington. In this state of things cordial friendship with France & peace at least with Spain become more interesting. You know the circumstances respecting this last power, which have rendered it ineligible that you should have proceeded heretofore to your destination, but this obstacle is now removed by their recall of Yrujo & appointment of another minister, & in the mean time of a chargé des affaires, who has been recieved. The way being now open for taking your station at Madrid, it is certainly our wish you should do so, and that this may be more agreeable to you than your return home, as is solicited in yours of May 1. It is with real unwillingness we should relinquish the benefit of your services; nevertheless if your mind is decidedly bent on that we shall regret, but not oppose your return. The choice therefore remains with yourself. In the mean time your place in the joint commission being vacated by either event, we shall take the measures rendered necessary by that. We have seen with real grief the misunder-

standing which has taken place between yourself & Gen^l Armstrong. We are neither qualified nor disposed to form an opinion between you. We regret the pain which must have been felt by persons both of whom hold so high a place in our esteem, and we have not been without fear that the public interest might suffer by it. It has seemed, however, that the state of Europe has been such as to admit little to be done in matters so distant from them.

The present alarm has had the effect of suspending our foreign commerce. No merchant ventures to send out a single vessel; and I think it probable that this will continue very much the case till we get an answer from England. Our crops are uncommonly plentiful. That of small grain is now secured south of this; and the harvest is advancing here. Accept my salutations & assurances of affectionate esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MR BOWDOIN.

JAMES MADISON TO JOHN ARMSTRONG AND
JAMES BOWDOIN.*

COPY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, July 15th, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,—The enclosed copy of a proclamation of the President will inform you of a late extraordinary hostility and insult committed by a British ship of war on a frigate of the U. S. near the Capes of Virginia, and of the measure taken by the President in consequence of the outrage. The subsequent proceedings of the British

* A "duplicate" original of this letter, signed by Mr. Madison, is in The Bowdoin and Temple Papers. It is almost wholly in cipher. The "copy" is not in Bowdoin's hand, but it was doubtless made under his direction to enable him to read the despatch more easily, and to be sent to Mr. Erving. It is in the same hand and on the same sheet of paper as the two short notes which follow. — Eds.

squadron in our waters have borne a like stamp of hostility; and altho' it may be found that these provocations have not issued from or may be disavowed and expiated by the British government it may also be found that the U. S. must take on themselves the reparation that is due them. For this event it is necessary to be prepared; as well with a view to our finances as to other resources and arrangements. In this state of things the President, taking into consideration the objections to an application of the public funds to objects not immediately connected with the public safety, instructs you to suspend the negotiation for the purchase of the Floridas, unless it shall be agreed by Spain that payment for them shall in case of a rupture between Great Britain and the United States be postponed till the end of one year after they shall have settled their differences; and that in the mean time no interest shall be paid on the debt. You will of course understand it to be inconsistent with that instruction either to draw on the Treasury or to obtain a credit in Europe for any-part of the sum allotted for the purchase of the Floridas.

Should a bargain have been made for the Floridas, and payment stipulated as contemplated by former instructions, you will press in the most serious and emphatic manner a remodification of the terms which will adjust them to the instructions here given. Such a compliance may justly be expected in return for the advantages which Spain and her allies will derive in various respects from a contest between this country and their enemy. It may further be expected that in consideration of these advantages to them, and of the general effect of a war or even of a cessation of commerce with G. B. on the pecuniary faculties of the United States, the price demanded for the Floridas will be at least greatly reduced. To this consideration it may be added that whilst the pecuniary faculties of the U. S. will

be so materially benumbed in the event of a rupture with G. B. those of Spain may be essentially aided by the facility which that event will give to the command of her S^o American treasures thro' the U. S. Finally is it not worthy of consideration that the introduction of hostile relations between the U. S. and G. B. may remove objections hitherto felt by the latter, to enterprizes against the Floridas, and lead to a military occupancy of them with views very adverse to the policy of Spain.

Should Spain still obstinately persist in rejecting or retarding an arrangement concerning the Floridas, she must at least see the necessity of hastening a satisfactory one on other subjects, particularly in the case of the Mobile, for the free use of which by the U. S. orders ought to be sent without a moment's delay.

The President leaves to your own discretion the use to be made of observations of this kind, and entertains an entire confidence that your management of the whole business will be such as will best comport with the circumstances of the crisis, and conduce most to the object entrusted to you.

This dispatch goes by the *Revenge*, a public armed vessel charged with instructions to our ministers in London, to require from the British government the satisfaction due for the insult to the U. S. She will touch at a French port from which one of her officers will proceed to Paris. She will also return from England to France and convey to you from Mr Monroe & Mr Pinckney the communications rendered proper by the conduct & countenance of the British government in relation to the U. States. The influence which these communications ought to have on your proceedings will depend on the tenor of them, and must be left to your own discernment and sound judgement. I have the pleasure to assure you that the spirit excited throughout our nation by the gross attack on its sovereignty is that of the most ardent

and determined patriotism. You will find sufficient specimens of it in the papers herewith enclosed.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, with respect and consideration,

Your most ob. serv^t.

(Signed) JAMES MADISON.

THEIR EXCELLENCIES GENERAL ARMSTRONG and JAMES BOWDOIN,
Ministers of the U. States at Paris.

Below is copy of a Letter from Gen^l Armstrong to J^s Bowdoin

(superscription) A Monsieur,
Monsieur BOWDOIN,
Paris.

PARIS, 17 Aug^t, 1807.

SIR, — As you expressed a wish in your note of the 1st inst^t to have it in your power to make your court to his Majesty on his birth-day I did not fail to make the necessary application, but received a notice, that none but ministers accredited to his Majesty could be received on that day. I state this fact to shew you that your not being invited was not a consequence of any omission of mine. If you wish to see M^r Segur's note communicating the rule, it shall be sent to you.

On the other and more important subject on which you speak, I owe as well to your personal situation and feelings as to your public character the most full and explicit declaration that I have no reason to believe that France will so interfere as to constrain Spain even to *negotiate* & much less to conclude a treaty on terms equitable in themselves and satisfactory to the U. S. In other words, I do not believe that the objects of our joint commission will be accomplished.

I have directed copies of the last part of my correspondence with the Prince of Benevent to be made out for you & I send herewith a letter from the Department of State which came enclosed to me.

I have the honor to be, Sir, very respectfully your
obed. humb. serv. (Signed) JOHN ARMSTRONG.

P. S. You will consider this communication & the
other which shall be made, as soon as the letters can be
copied, as confidential.

MR BOWDOIN. Paris.

The following is copy of the note referred to above :

COPY.

GEN. ARMSTRONG.

PARIS, Aug^t 1st, 1807.

SIR,— The long time I have been waiting here the
arrival of the Spanish ministers to have been appointed
thro' the friendly mediation of his Imp^l Majesty, to dis-
cuss and arrange with us the subsisting differences be-
tween Spain and the U. S. makes me extremely desirous
to know what probability there is of the friendly inter-
ference of this gov^t or that Spain will authorize commis-
sioners to confer and to settle the differences between
the two countries.

As the state of my health has been on the decline for
some time past, I feel great anxiety to return home,
which I shall attempt as soon as the results of our joint
commission shall be fully ascertained. I shall therefore
be much obliged to you for such information as you may
have upon this subject, and for any communications
which may have taken place upon it between you and
the Prince of Beneventum since October last, that in
case there should be no probability of a negotiation to be
opened, I may prepare to return to the United States as
soon as possible.

As I conceive it proper (my health permitting) to pay
my respects to the Emperor upon his birth-day, I shall be
obliged to you to procure me the necessary card of intro-
duction from the master of ceremonies.

I am very respectfully, Sir, your mo. ob. serv.

(Signed) J. B.

JAMES MADISON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, July 17th, 1807.

SIR, — Since the event which led to the late proclamation of the President, inclosed in the letter to Gen^l Armstrong and yourself, the British squadron in the waters of Virginia has conducted itself in the same insolent and hostile spirit. Merchant vessels arriving and departing have been challenged, fired at, examined, and detained within our jurisdiction; with as little scruple as if they were at open sea. Not satisfied with these outrages, the British Commodore Douglass advanced into Hampton Roads with his whole squadron, consisting of two 74's, a ship of 50 guns, and a frigate; threatened by his soundings and other preparations an hostile approach to Norfolk; and actually blockaded the town by forcibly obstructing all water communication with it. In a word the course of proceeding has amounted as much to an invasion and a siege as if an army had debarked and invested the town on the land side. It is now said that the whole squadron has left Hampton Roads in consequence of a formal notice of the President's proclamation, and fallen down to the former position at a small distance within the Capes; probably awaiting the further orders of the commanding Admiral at Halifax.

The spirit and exertions called forth by the crisis have been truly gratifying. Volunteers turned out by thousands. The situations most exposed to predatory debarkations were guarded; and Norfolk was soon made safe by a judicious disposition of the Chesapeake refitted for the occasion, a French frigate which happened to be in harbour, and a few gun boats; and by availing the whole of the support of the fortifications in the vicinity.

The grand jury, during the late session of the Circuit Court at Richmond, found bills of treason and misdemeanor against Aaron Burr, Jonathan Dayton, John

Smith (Senator from the State of Ohio), Blennerhasset, and several others. Their trials will take place on the 3^d of next month.

I have the honor to inclose a private letter from the President, which renders it unnecessary for me to say more in reference to the considerations which personally interest you than that he acquiesces in your proposed return to the United States; but with a wish to avail the public of your services at Madrid, if not disagreeable to you, and if there be no objection to this arrangement presented by circumstances in our affairs with Spain better known to you than to us. The way for the arrangement seems to be fairly opened by the late substitution of the Chevalier de Foronda as chargé des affaires, in place of the Marquis de Yrujo, and by the understood purpose of transferring hither the present Minister Plenipo: of Spain at Milan.

In the present posture of our relations to Great Britain it is prudent to turn them as much as can be honorably done to account in our other foreign relations. In the joint letter to you and Gen^l Armstrong this policy has been explained as it applies to the objects embraced by the joint commission. But there are other cases in which Spain is counselled by her own interest to promote that of the United States; particularly by giving greater latitude and security to our commerce with her American possessions, above all with the important and convenient Island of Cuba. I offer this idea for your attention and improvement; and I pray you to communicate it to M^r Erving, with such of the other matters contained in the dispatches now forwarded as it may be useful for him to possess.

I have the honor to remain, with great respect & consideration,

Sir, your most ob^t se^t.

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq., &c., &c., &c. Paris.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, ESQ^R.

MY D^R SIR, — I wrote to you on y^e 9th inst^t since which I have rec^d no letters from you. I avail myself of the oppty. of Cap^t McClure to write to you; he is one of y^e principal propr^{ties} of land in East Florida, & is well acquainted with y^e country. He has had a large ship cast away upon the coast of France, & has been engaged in claiming the property saved, w^{ch} is attempted to be proved British by some persons living upon the coast. The case is pending before y^e C^t of Prizes, & as it is refered for a month or two before it will be examined, he goes in y^e mean time to Madrid on some commercial affairs, where he has connections with people of some influence. I mention these circumstances that you may draw, if possible, some advantage from them. You will find him well informed & intelligent, & that he is well disposed to render any assistance which may be in his power. He has promised to give me a statement of y^e present situation of y^e ports & harbours in East & West Florida, the depth of water & their general conveniences for the security of ships; & also his opinions in regard to the goodness & value of y^e soil. These are circumstances on w^{ch} we cannot have too much information. As he will make but a short stay at Madrid & will return immeadiately to Paris, I hope you will write me fully on his return & enclose copies of your communications to y^e Spanish gov^t, & that you will furnish me with all such information of every kind & nature w^{ch} may have any relation to our negotiations here; and what you find to be y^e real disposition of y^e Spanish gov^t on y^e subject; particularly also in regard to the land jobbing scheme w^{ch} you mentioned in one of your last letters. As soon as the Treaties of Tilsitt are published I shall write you, as also when I rec^e y^e dispatches w^{ch} are

expected by y^e Wasp sloop, & w^{ch} it is s^d is arrived in Engl^d. Expecting Cap^t McClure momentarily to call for this letter, I have only time to renew my assurances of esteem & regard, in w^{ch} my family all join & to subscribe myself very sincerely yours.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, July 24th, 1807.

P. S. Peace with Russia & Prussia was this day proclaimed, but the articles are not yet published.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

G. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I duely rec^d yr. favour of y^e 21st & notice what you observe concerning y^e disposition of y^e Spanish gov^t in regard to the subsisting differences with y^e U. S.; and likewise to y^e jealousy & apprehensions it entertains of this gov^t. That these jealousies are not without foundation I am well assured, for I understand a force is on march with a view to enter Spain, & to revolutionize its gov^t; indision & half way measures are y^e ruin of all causes in such times as y^e present, & y^e Prince of P. with his duplicity & double conduct will be completely caught in his own snares. Spain with her troops abroad & her resources exhausted will fall like ripe fruit before y^e power & policy of this gov^t. Portugal too will be reduced in her turn & be made to repent of her policy & connection with G. B. What will be y^e fate of the Spanish colonies, to whose lot they will fall, it is difficult to suppose. Every thing seems to be giving way to the irresistible power of the Emperor, whilst G. B. seems to have lost her senses & is wasting her power & resources in useless expeditions & frivolous attempts; at a time too, that her navy is making her enemies every where by robbing friends & foes with equal rapacity! How the

U. S. will act towards her, whether they will continue to put up with y^e plunder of their commerce, y^e impressm^t of their seamen, & y^e late capture of one of their frigates, it is difficult to say! besides a great number of our vessels condemned in Engl^d, 18 sail of our ships have been lately condemned at Malta upon the most frivolous pretences. Or what our gov^t means to do in regard to our affairs with Spain is equally out of my view. M^r Rit-tenhouse has arrived in Holland, & I have rec^d no instructions & y^e probability is that none has or will be given. I beg you will keep me informed of every occurrence, and that you will write me particularly by M^r Merriault & Cap^t McClure; perhaps you may get some information by sounding the Prince on y^e subject of our affairs & y^e appointm^t of Commiss^{rs}, &c^a, to confer, &c. My opinion continues to be that nothing will come from the proposition of our gov^t & y^e sooner I return home y^e better. I have written for leave, & I hope to rec^e in y^e course of a month or six weeks. In the mean time, I shall aim to do what I can, but I confess that y^e prospect of success appears to me small. I think this gov^t is amusing, whilst it is amu[sed] with y^e policy of our gov^t in regard to Spain.

Adieu, & believe me always with great regard, yours, &c^a, &c^a.

PARIS, 7th Augt, 1807.

P. S. At the moment of sealing this letter I rec^e yours of y^e 21st ult^o. My family desire to be remembered to you.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.

GEN. ARMSTRONG.

SIR, — In reply to your two notes of the 14th & 17th inst^t you will permit to observe to you that as a public minister of the United States, altho not accredited to

this government, yet I consider myself entitled to the protection and to the consideration & respect of a foreign minister. I understand it has been the immemorial usage of this court, and of the European courts in general, to extend the civilities of the court through the resident minister to all foreign ministers circumstanced & situated as I am.

In this view the manner of being introduced & the preliminary steps necessary thereto, as well as the cards of invitation therefor, do not become mere matters of form, but have a certain significance and character attached to them very important to the government which we represent.

A foreign minister, whether accredited or not to the court of the country through which he may pass, or may have occasion to sojourn or to reside on account of the business of his nation, is entitled to y^e protection authorized by the law of nations during his residence and to the consideration and respect due to the resident minister of y^e same power. This is the construction that the President has doubtless given to the law of nations & to the usages under it, or I am well persuaded that he would have attached collateral powers to the commission common to us both, at least so far as respected the mediation of this government.

How far, Sir, you have acted up to this construction of the rights & usages attached to my commission of minister plenipotentiary near the court of his Catholic Majesty, or to y^e extraordinary one in which I am joined with you, will depend upon the communications you have made to this government & to the cards of invitation you may have received on my account. If I understand it right the manner and style of your applications are fully explained in the tickets you procured for me at the late ceremonies, which were directed to me in my personal & not in ym official character ; and I have reason to appre-

hend that Mr Segur's card to you on my account may be estimated by the same circumstance.

I conceive it equally my duty to observe to you, Sir, that the history of this government offers few or no examples of a minister to another court, when passing through or residing at Paris on the business of his government, being refused introduction by y^e minister resident, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and it is very reluctantly that I remind you, Sir, that although I have requested this favour it has hitherto been without success!

With respect to our affairs with Spain I am sorry to notice by your last note that y^e prospect of procuring the interference of this government seems almost at an end; and it is sincerely to be lamented that this disposition could not have been sooner ascertained. I am sorry to acquaint you that by my last letters from Madrid the Spanish government continues obstinate, & is quite indisposed to open a negotiation with y^e United States on the subsisting differences; so that if the interference of this government cannot be obtained there will be little or no prospect of an adjustment; and the information cannot be too soon communicated to y^e President.

By the copies of y^e papers you yesterday sent me, as well as by your letters heretofore written, there seems to have been a number of communications between you & this governm^t respecting our affairs with Spain of which you have not furnished me copies, & I conclude therefore you may have thôt them of little importance. I shall notwithstanding be glad to be possessed of the whole correspondence since the rec^t of our joint commission, & shall be much obliged to you to favour me with such parts of it as you may not have heretofore favoured me with.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, Sir,

Your most obed^t servant.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, Aug^t 19th, 1807.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W^m ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since writing you on the 7th inst^t, I have rec^d no letter from you; but I have rec^d interesting letters from M^r Madison, Gen^l Armstrong, & M^r Monroe. The first contains nothing new, althô it is couched in very friendly terms. The second contains very important information, little short of the absolute refusal of this gov^t to interfere in our disputes with Spain. Here is what he says: “On the other & more important subject on which you speak, I owe as well to your personal situation & feelings as to your public character y^e most full & explicit declaration that I have no reason to believe that France will so interfere as to constrain Spain to negotiate & much less conclude a treaty on terms equitable in themselves or satisfactory to y^e U. S. In other words, I do not believe that y^e objects of our joint commissⁿ will be accomplished.” It appears, however, that Gen^l A. had made a communication which had not been replied to. My letter from M^r Monroe, althô only a letter of introduction, yet by refering me to y^e bearer, a M^r Hall, for political information, I draw y^e very favorable conclusion, that althô y^e people of y^e U. S. are very highly incensed agst the conduct of the British ships of war, yet there is a prevailing disposition in y^e British cabinet to give y^e American gov^t the fullest satisfaction for the late outrages.

Should our difficulties with Engl^d blow over, & there sh^d continue to be no probability of a negotiation with Spain, I shall go home by y^e way of England, & shall probably quit Paris some time in y^e approaching autumn. I give you this hint that if you have obtained any intelligence, & sh^d hereafter, that sh^d induce me to delay this plan, I shall be glad you would give me from time to time y^e earliest information of it; or if I sh^d be in Engl^d

that you would forward it in a manner the most likely to reach me. I conclude you have had y^e American papers, and know every thing respecting y^e conduct of y^e British cruizers, Col^o Burr, & y^e other political topicks w^{ch} engage the attention of y^e people & gov^t of y^e [United] States.

Mr Sullivan has kept his bed with a fever for a fortnight past, but is now better. The rest of the family are well, except myself, and desire to be remembered to you.

Believe me always with great regard, respectfully,
d^r Sir,

Yours, &c^a, &c^a.

PARIS, Aug^t 26, 1807.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W^M ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you on y^e 7th & 26th inst, to w^{ch} I refer you. You will see by the enclosed copies of letters what my present situation is; that nothing is or can be done further under the joint commission, which I thank God is terminated or nearly so; it only remains for me then agreeably to y^e President's letter to make my election between going to Mad^d or returning home, & I shall not hesitate in my choice, not having health to endure the journey to Madrid, if my services were required there. You will observe by one of Mr Madison's letters to me, that he requests me to communicate to you such parts of my dispatches as I may find useful. What he precisely means I sh^d suggest to you I know not. I take it, however, (first referring you to y^e letters) that y^e joint commissⁿ being dead, y^e minister at Paris & you at Madrid may make or receive proposals for the accommodation of y^e subsisting differences. Mr Armstrong says France will not interfere, & you say that Spain is quite indisposed to any negotiation whatsoever. What else then can be done than to submit this posture of our

affairs to the gov^t to determine upon y^e measures necessary to give an activity to the negotiation?

If our difficulties with England shall be arranged, I shall proceed thither with my family to pass y^e winter; if not, I shall endeavor to proceed to y^e U. S. in y^e most direct way possible the present autumn. The *Revenge*, armed schooner, sailed from Brest for Engl^d with dispatches for M^r Monroe on Monday last. The ministers in Lond^o are directed to give Gen^l Armstrong & me the earliest intelligence of their negotiations with the British cabinet. I pray you to write me by the first opp^{ty} after receiv^g this letter & acquaint me with y^e present disposition of y^e Spanish cabinet. The troops are daily quitting this city, & are assembling near Bayonne. I gave you a hint in my last of these movem^{ts}. M^r Sullivan continues unwell. My family desire to be remembered to you. Believe me, always with great regard,

Yours, &c^a, &c^a.

PARIS, Aug. 29th, 1807.

If you have any letters for Engl^d, you had better write them & send to me within 3 or 4 weeks. Mr. Barnet desires his regards.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 30 August, 1807.

SIR,—I have received your note of the 29th. The letter endorsed *Department of State* and addressed to you, & which was sent to your lodgings some ten or twelve days past, did not come by the *Wasp*, but by M. Livingston. The Department of State will be able to inform you whether *this* was accompanied by other letters, papers & pamphlets, and particularly whether it “doubtless” enclosed for you a letter or letters from the President. On these points I disdain to answer your

questions & desire you hereafter to be more circumspect in putting them.

I send you the pith of my correspondence with M. de Champagny. This is all I think necessary to your objects & all I shall send to you at present. Should I receive a favorable answer to my letter of the 23^d (as I expect) I shall communicate it, hoping however that you may not think it advisable to convey it through any channel to his Highness the Prince of Peace.

I am your obed^t hum. servant.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Turn over.

31 Aug^t.

I have *this morning* received from one Ficheux (a deputy of Aron Vail) by the *diligence* a packet from the Dept. of State containing 2 articles for you, which I send herewith.

Suit of the correspondence
between the Min. Champagny
& Gen. Armstrong.*

PARIS, le 22 Août, 1807.

MONSIEUR, — Vous m'avez rapellé par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 19 de ce mois, les notes que vous aviez adressées le 12 et le 16 Juin, le 8 et le 9 d'Août, à M^r le Prince de Bénévent, et la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire le 13 du même mois.

J'ai vérifié que les deux premières notes ont été répondues par une lettre du 13 Juillet, qui vous a été adressée de Koenisberg. Votre 3^{me} note relative comme les 2 premières, aux discussions qui subsistent entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis, m'a donné lieu d'écrire le 19 à l'Ambassadeur de sa Majesté à Madrid, et de lui recommander de saisir toutes les occasions favorables pour porter les Ministres des deux Etats à ne suivre dans ces discussions, qu'une marche amicale.

* Marginal note in the handwriting of General Armstrong. — Eds.

J'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous annoncer que d'après votre lettre du 9, j'avais prié le Ministre de la Marine de me transmettre les nouvelles explications que vous desiriez, sur l'application du decret du 19 Novembre dernier, en ce qui peut concerner les Américains.

Vous jugerez, Monsieur, par les observations que vos différentes notes ont été prises en considération. Je continuerai de donner une attention particulière à toutes les affaires qui intéressent les 2 puissances, et sur les quelles vous me ferez l'honneur de m'écrire, particulièrement à celles qui tendront à resserrer davantage l'union des Etats-Unis, soit avec ses voisins et ses alliés, soit avec la France. Vous m'annoncez que vous m'avez adressé une nouvelle lettre le 13 de ce mois. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien m'en envoyer un duplicata.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé) CHAMPAGNY.

PARIS, 23 August, 1807.

SIR, — I received the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 22 of the present month, informing me that "in consequence of my note of the 8th instant you had written to his Majesty's ambassador at Madrid, and had recommended to him to seize all favorable occasions to induce the ministers of the two powers to follow in their discussions an amicable course."

While I offer to your Excellency my acknowledgments for this ready and friendly recommendation you will permit me to remark, that whatever may be its success it by no means supercedes the necessity of demanding in behalf of the U. S. an answer to the question so interesting to them & so frequently asked, what is the western boundary of Louisiana? This question was first offered to his Highness the Prince of Benevent in my letter of the 5th of February last, was repeated in that of the 12th of June and was afterwards presented to your Excellency in that of the 8th instant. The government

of the Union will not readily perceive, why a question growing out of public treaties, founded in public rights, and urged, as I hope, with a sufficient degree of decorum, should remain unanswered?

Is it supposed that an answer in the frankness which characterises his Majesty, would give to the Union any improper advantage? Certainly not. The U. S. ask only what belongs to them; they demand only their rights; they want nothing besides. Would it do any positive wrong to Spain? None. Like the U. S. that power cannot be injured by a free and faithful exhibition of the truth.

Could it in any way, or to any extent, be opposed to the interests of France? This is impossible. France can have no interest more precious in itself, none more important to her glory or her power, than that of strictly fulfilling all her engagements. In the present case she has stipulated that her title to Louisiana was indisputable, and this indisputable title she has ceded to the Union. It cannot therefore be her interest to dissemble, much less to deny a regular and official exposition of it.

Can there be any difficulty in locating the boundary? Not the smallest. The discoveries made and possessions taken by France from the year 1673 to that of 1712; the Act of Louis the 14th constituting the province and declaring the boundaries of Louisiana; the sanctions direct and indirect given to these proceedings by three successive treaties (those of Ryswic, Utrecht, and Radstadt), to which France and Spain were parties; the possession, without doubt on one side or disturbance on the other, for the long period of 80 years; the cession by France and acceptance by Spain (in 1762) of the territory which had been thus held by the former; the subsequent retro-cession by Spain of this very territory in the extent it had when she received it; and finally, the transfer by France to the U. S. of all the rights that she

(France) had derived from this act of retro-cession on the part of Spain — these circumstances taken separately and collectively remove all doubts which may otherwise attach to the question ; they establish the boundary fully and firmly and leave to his Majesty only to declare the result, and to the government of the Union to act upon that declaration. Under these impressions I hasten to renew to your Excellency this interesting question, what was deemed or taken (by France) as the western boundary of Louisiana when in 1762 she ceded that province to his C. M. ? The reasonableness of the request, the right to make it, and the assurances contained in your Excellency's letter of the 22nd instant, leave no room to doubt but that it will be answered promptly and favorably.

I have the honor to offer to your Excellency the new assurances of my very high consideration.

H. EX. THE MINISTER OF EXTERIOR RELATIONS.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 30 August, 1807.

IF General Armstrong understands Mr. Bowdoin's note of the 19th instant, it was intended to assert or insinuate, 1st, that the protection, respect, and consideration due to him (Mr. Bowdoin) by the French government have been withheld: 2d, That cards of invitation to recent festivities and ceremonies were sent to him in his *private*, not in his public character: 3d, That he was not permitted to make his court to his Majesty with the Diplomatic Corps on the 15th instant: 4th, That these grievances have arisen from an omission of Gen. Armstrong in not having presented him (Mr. B.) in his public character: and 5th, That General Armstrong has constantly *refused* to introduce Mr. Bowdoin to the Prince of Benevent, late Minister of Foreign Relations. On

each of these heads of accusation, as they may be called, Gen. Armstrong will say a few words; and,

1st. If either protection or civilities have been denied to Mr. Bowdoin, he ought to specify the cases. I know of none such. It were well that Mr. B. should specify also the kind and degree of civility and protection to which he may think himself entitled. It will not, I believe, be asserted, much less proved, that Mr. B. has been molested either in his person or his property; nor will it be denied that Mr. B. has had the civilities of the court. This very letter, under our eye, proves that cards of invitation to the late festivities and ceremonies were sent to him. It is true there might have been entertainments to which he was not invited. Such were the dinners and suppers of the Palace. But will Mr. B. seriously complain of this? If he does, I congratulate him on the state of his stomach: it has more vigor than I had imagined.

2^d But the invitations sent to Mr. B. were addressed to him in his *private*, and not in his *public* character. This may be true, and it may be true also that these invitations would have been more respectful had they been addressed to "His Excellency, James Bowdoin, Esquire, Minister Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to his Catholic Majesty." It is possible that this style of address may be among "*those forms of significance and character*" which (Mr. Bowdoin says) are highly "*important to the government we represent,*" and if so, Mr. B. himself cannot be more afflicted at this omission than I am.

3^d That Mr. B. was not permitted to make his court to his Majesty at the last diplomatic audience is true, and it is also true that, to prevent mistake and misrepresentation, Gen. A. explained to Mr. B. the cause of this exclusion. So far however from accepting this explanation, Mr. B. with his characteristic delicacy and good manners places the order of his Majesty (of which this

exclusion was an effect) to the account of Gen. Armstrong, and would insinuate that it was *particular* in its operation. The fact is just the reverse. The order was *general* and was intended to exclude all persons (of whatever rank) not of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to this Court. Hence it was that the Spanish Minister Count Richteren (a person exactly in Mr. B.'s situation) was not admitted, and hence also the exclusion of near a dozen of German and Italian Princes, &c., &c. If Mr. B. would dismiss the ear-wigs that now approach and even monopolize him, and who know even less than himself, and particularly if he would enter but once a week into any well-instructed society in Paris, he would get over the misconceptions and other errors into which he is now constantly falling both with regard to the French nation, the French government, and even the conduct of his own colleague. (See the two notes appended to this letter, and marked 1. and 2. They will prove to Mr. B. that the usages of this court make a distinction between ministers resident here and persons situated as he is.)

4th, Had Mr. Bowdoin's memory been more correct, he would neither have asserted nor insinuated that G. A. had neglected to present him in his *public* character. The public papers of the day will correct this mistake, they will shew that *he was presented as Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to his Catholic Majesty.*

On Mr. Bowdoin's 5th complaint Gen. A. would remark, 1st. That Mr. Bowdoin's introduction to the Prince of Benevent did by no means depend upon him. There were many other avenues to the acquaintance of that minister; and Mr. Bowdoin may recollect that soon after his arrival in Paris he made an attempt through one of these to obtain not merely an *introduction* but an *official intercourse* which should exist independently of both Gen. Armstrong's *participation* and *privity*. 2^d Tho' the circumstance just mentioned would have justified General

Armstrong in refusing his aid to Mr. B's introduction, yet it is a fact that he never *refused* it. So far from this G. A. made two efforts to obtain for Mr. B. the introduction he wished. But 3d. What shall we think of the reasonableness of this complaint when we find that Mr. B. *has been actually introduced to this minister, nay that he introduced himself*. In his rage to effect this object, and heedless of the forbidding indications which offered themselves in succession against it, Mr. B. (at a public audience at which Gen. A. was not present) made his way to the Prince of Benevent, and announcing both his name and his office stated, "that he had been twice at his gate, but had been refused admittance; that he seized this occasion to introduce himself, and hoped for the honor of a permission to see and to know him." If it were possible for Mr. B. to have forgotten this extraordinary *introduction*, it is quite impossible that he could forget the still more extraordinary *reception* it met with. To have lost sight of the one would argue a total want of memory; but to have forgotten the other would demonstrate the absence of every thing in the human character worth having. It is therefore impossible but that Mr. Bowdoin must remember it, and if he does what are we to think of his lamentations *at not having been introduced to the Prince of Benevent!!!*

General Armstrong hopes that Mr. B. will hereafter look out for some new subject upon whom to discharge the irritations of ill-health or ill humor. He is completely weary of being the subject of either.

L'AIDE des Ceremonies a l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que le Corps diplomatique est invité à se réunir Samedi matin chez un de ses membres, pour se rendre en corps à la cérémonie de Notre Dame.

Il sera necessaire que son Ex. le Grand Maitre des Cérémonies connoise le lieu de réunion du Corps Diaplo-

matique pour qu'il puisse l'indiquer à l'escorte qui sera commandée à l'effet d'accompagner le Corps Diplomatique.

Votre Excellence recevra demain les billets qu'elle a demandés. La tribune destinée au Corps Diplomatique ne pouvant recevoir que Messieurs les Ambassadeurs et Ministres. *Les personnes attachées aux légations et les étrangers présentés seront placés ailleurs.*

L'aide des Cérémonies a l'honneur de renouveler à votre Excellence l'hommage de sa respectueuse considération.

DARGAINARATZ.

Ce 12. août, 1807.

A SON EX. LE GENERAL ARMSTRONG.

Turn over.

Le Grand maître des Ceremonies a l'honneur de prévenir votre Excellence que S. M. l'Empereur et Roi recevra le Corps Diplomatique demain samedi à 10 heures précises au Palais des Tuileries.

MM. Les Etrangers ne seront point admis à cette audience. Le Corps Diplomatique partira du Palais des Tuileries pour se rendre à Notre Dame.

Le Grand maître prie votre Excellence d'agréer l'assurance de sa considération distinguée.

Ce 14 août, 1807.

A SON EX. LE GENERAL ARMSTRONG.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W. ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have only time to enclose you a copy of a letter I yesterday, i. e., y^e last evening, rec^d from Gen. Armstrong & my answer thereto of this morning. I refer them to your consideration & shall give you notice of y^e measures w^{ch} may or may not be pursued in consequence thereof, requesting however in y^e mean

while your sentiments & opinions grounded upon the propositions w^{ch} I have made as well as upon y^e note of y^e French gov^t refered to in Gen^l Armstrong's letter. In great haste, you will permit me to desist & to subscribe myself very respectfully.

Yours, &c^a

PARIS, Sep. 11th, 1807.

COPY OF GEN^L ARMSTRONG'S LETTER TO J. B.

PARIS, 10th Sep., 1807.

SIR, — In answer to my letter of y^e 23 of Aug^t last (a copy of w^{ch} you have) his Majesty's minister of exterior relations has declared to me that y^e only document to be found in y^e archives of France w^{ch} tends to fix or illustrate y^e boundaries of Louisiana is y^e act of Louis 14 of Sep., 1718, by w^{ch} y^e province was declared to extend from y^e English provinces (the Carolinas) on y^e east, to the Spanish provinces of old & new Mexico on the west, & from y^e sea northerly to y^e Illinois river including the Mississippi & Missouri rivers & all y^e streams, lands, & countries watered by streams falling directly or indirectly into y^e s^d river Mississippi from y^e sea to y^e Illinois afores^d; that y^e eastern limit having undergone various changes before y^e transfer by France to y^e United States, nothing is to be infered from this act in relation thereto, but that with regard to y^e western boundary, it presents y^e pretensions & rights of w^{ch} France believed herself to be possessed, when in 1803 she made y^e transfer to y^e U. S. & are those, w^{ch} she did urge & w^d have continued to urge with Spain had she proceeded to settle with that power y^e western boundary in her own right. I am, Sir, with great respect,

Yr. most ob. humb. serv^t

J. A.

PARIS, Sept^r 10th, 1807.

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. ARMSTRONG.

SIR, — I received your ill judged, unauthorized &, I might say, abusive letter of the 30th ultimo on the 31st,

and it was my determination not to have troubled you again with my letters; but compelled by official duty, I proceed to such observations as occur to me grounded on your letter of yesterday.

It appears to me, Sir, by that letter, altho' the subject of it is not so explicit as it might or ought to be made, yet I think it gives sufficient grounds on which to expect an amicable negotiation with Spain on those points which are very important to be ascertained & settled at this crisis. It amounts to a declaration on the part of France, that y^e retrocession of Louisiana by Spain extended to & included the rivers Bravo & Sallado, as y^e western boundary of the ceded territory, agreeably to all the old maps of that country made contemporary with the French settlements and establishments therein. I therefore consider the path to negotiation & arrangement to be opened, and that Spain will no longer refuse to appoint commissioners to settle the disputes & to make y^e arrangements necessary therefor. How far this event can or ought to be brôt about under our joint commission is somewhat questionable. The President has order'd the negotiations if any had been begun to be suspended on account of the present posture of our affairs with England; but as that instruction has reference to the payment of money thro' the purchase of y^e Floridas, so I think it is not incompatible with that direction & with the last instructions of M^r Madison to pursue a negotiation to settle the boundaries, adjust the spoliations, and to procure some stipulations in favour of our citizens for the use of the waters of the Mobile & y^e other rivers having their sources within the limits of y^e United States & passing through West or East Florida into the Bay of Mexico. These objects might be brôt under my particular commission as Minister Plenipotentiary near the Court of his Catholic Majesty, did my health permit me to take a journey to Madrid. But as I have the President's permission

to return home, if I see fit, so I submit to you the propriety of joining me in a letter to M^r Erving, to request him to make known the construction that this gov^t gives to the retrocession of Spain, and that the American commissioners at Paris demand a definitive answer, whether y^e Spanish gov^t is willing to authorize commission^{rs} on its part to meet us at Paris to treat upon the several objects herein stated as above? In this case the Spanish gov^t will be reduced to the necessity to declare its intention & must take the consequences of a refusal.

If you think it will comport with the letter or spirit of our instructions & is worthy of attention, I will join you in a letter for this purpose, and will leave it to your option whether it shall be drawn up by you or me.

It is proper that I should acquaint you that as soon as I shall be able to discharge myself of the commission with which I am jointly charged with you I shall resign my commission of Minister to y^e Court of Spain & shall return home.

I should be glad to receive a copy of the note of this gov^t on which your letter of yesterday is grounded as well as a copy of M^r Madison's last instructions to us jointly.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most ob^t servant.

J. B.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

PARIS, 11 September, 1807.

SIR, — I have this moment received your letter of today. On the first paragraph of it I remark that both my letters of the 30th ultimo were written after the receipt of yours of the 29th. If, by several expressions in your letter of that date, you did not mean to insinuate that I had received and suppressed letters and pamphlets addressed to you by the President and Secretary of State, you have been most unfortunate in conveying your

ideas ; and if you did mean so to insinuate, your conduct deserved even more correction than it received.

It appears to you that “ the subject of my note of the 18th is not so explicit as it might or ought to be made.” Now the subject of that note is to inform you, 1st, That the archives of France contain no document other than the letters patent granted to Mr. Crosat, and dated 14th September, 1712, which can either fix or illustrate the boundaries of Louisiana : 2^d, That these letters patent contain the illustrations which would have guided France in settling with Spain the limits of Louisiana, had she pursued a settlement of them in her own right : and 3^d That the boundaries laid down in these letters are from the Carolinas on the east to New Mexico on the west, &c., &c. Than the 1st and 2d articles of this statement nothing can be more explicit, and if your quarrel be with the third, you must permit me to suggest, that the description it contains was not made by Mr. Champagny nor myself, but was given nearly a century ago and of course cannot be remedied by any censure of the present day. Indeed, from your own account of it it scarcely if at all deserves censure, for notwithstanding your first opinion that “ it might, and ought to be more explicit ” you go on to say of it, “ that it gives sufficient grounds on which to expect an amicable negotiation with Spain, on those points which are very important to be ascertained and settled at this crisis ; that it amounts to a declaration on the part of France, that the retro-cession of Louisiana by Spain extended to and included the Rivers Bravo and Sallado as the western boundary of the ceded territory ; that it opens the path to negotiation and arrangement ; and above all that in consequence thereof Spain will no longer refuse to appoint commissioners to settle the disputes, and make the arrangements therefor.”

Now, Sir, if it but perform all this, I really do not see that we have any reason to regret its want of explicit-

ness. Your next opinion is, that "it is questionable" whether we should or should not avail ourselves of this favorable circumstance to open a negotiation with Spain? and after discussing the point *pro et contra* you come to the following conclusion, viz.: that though it be doubtful whether under our joint commission we can open this negotiation at present with Spain, yet that its objects being such as may be brought under your particular commission as Minister Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty, you propose that I should join you in a letter to Mr. Erving, inviting him to make known the construction that this government gives to the retrocession of Spain & demanding from it a definitive answer whether it will or will not appoint commissioners. On looking a second time over this part of your letter you cannot but see the irregularity of your inference; for if the step you propose be only warranted by your special commission, and not by our joint commission, the signature of your footman would be just as useful to you as mine; but, Sir, I must repeat (what on a former occasion I had the honor of stating) that whatever may be the scope of your particular commission, mine does not reach to the making of any direct overture to the Spanish government in relation to this subject, unless that government shall have previously demonstrated an intention of adjusting the controversy by an amicable negotiation.

With regard to the Mobille business (which is certainly very pressing) I consider the necessity of the case as taking it out of the general rule. The orders of the Secretary of State on this point appear to have been hypotheticated on a state of things which did not exist, viz.: 1st, an actual negotiation with Spain, on all the points in controversy; or, 2d, the presence at Paris of some Spanish authority competent to settle this particular point. But inasmuch as no such negotiation or authority is to be found at Paris, and as the character of the busi-

ness is not less distinct than it is urgent ; so far from seeing any impropriety in Mr. Erving's taking it up, I really do not see how it can be taken up at present through any other medium. If therefore any sanction of mine is necessary to this object, in either your opinion or in that of Mr. Erving, it shall be readily given ; and with it a certified extract from Mr. Champagny's letter to me of the 22^d ultimo to be used or not with the French Ambassador at Madrid, as Mr. Erving's discretion shall suggest ; but by the way, the giving of this extract will be unnecessary, as I have already furnished him with a copy of it.

I have now given my opinion on the points submitted, and particularly how far I am willing to adopt your proposition ? The declaration transmitted in my note of the 10th (having been verbal) can only be given in the form in which I sent it.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with high consideration,
Your most obedient & very humble servant.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

HIS EXCELLENCY M. BOWDOIN, M.P., &c., &c.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.*

COPY.

PARIS, Sep^r 14th, 1807.

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. ARMSTRONG.

SIR,—I received your letter of the 11th inst^t on the evening of the 12th. It is true that I did not think what your letter of the 10th announces to be an answer from Mr. Champagny to your note of y^e 23^d of August was so explicit as I thôt “it might or ought to be made.” My reasons for that opinion were that altho' M^r Champagny's

* The “Copy” from which this letter is printed is in the handwriting of an amanuensis, and was sent to Mr. Erving. At the end is a note in Mr. Bowdoin's own hand. It is indorsed by Mr. Erving “From M^r Bowdoin to Gen^l Armstrong, Sept. 14, 1807. Acknowledged by letter dated Sep. 27th, in Postscript 30th.” Apparently Mr. Erving's letter of September 27 was not preserved. — EDS.

description of the boundaries of Louisiana might be correct as far as it went, it did not probably contain all the evidence which y^e French gov^t might or ought to furnish upon the subject, for the reason that I had often heard you speak of an old plan in the French archives on w^{ch} Mr. Talleraud's name was inscribed, indicating the western boundary of Louisiana to extend to the Rio Bravo; added to which, I know that the boundaries of almost all y^e French as well as English American colonies are extremely vague & inexplicit, & rest more strongly upon the charts, maps & possession of the first discoverers & settlers than upon the letter of their particular descriptions.

Your letter of the 10th ins^t also calls M^r Champagny's answer a "*declaration*" which left me at a loss whether it was a written or a verbal one: that if it was verbal, the custom of ministers did not give authenticity to such communications, and therefore that Mr. Champagny's declaration c^d not be considered a public document, nor your letter grounded upon it used as such. It was under these impressions that I thôt myself authorized to use the expressions I did, which were only intended to suggest to you that a further and fuller explanation from Mr. Champagny might be necessary.

Willing, however, to give the fullest credit to Mr. Champagny's friendly disposition, as well as to your motives in making it known to me, I was disposed to consider your letter to be grounded upon an official document, & thereupon suggested to you my hopes & expectations of a negotiation as well as y^e difficulties which might obstruct or impede one.

The first difficulty which occurred to me was grounded upon my situation under our joint commission, which arose out of y^e President's letter to me dated on the 10th of July last, wherein after speaking of the situation of the U. S. in regard to G. Britain he says: "In this state of things cordial friendship with France and peace at

least with Spain become more interesting. You know the circumstances in respect to this last power which have rendered it ineligible that you sh^d have proceeded heretofore to your destination; but this obstacle is now removed by their recall of Yrujo & appointment of another minister, & in y^e mean while of a chargé des affaires who has been rec^d: the way being now open for taking your station at Madrid it is certainly our wish you sh^d do so, and that this may be more agreeable to you than your return home as is solicited in yours of May 1st, it is with real unwillingness we sh^d relinquish the benefit of your services; nevertheless if your mind is decidedly bent on that, we shall regret but not oppose your return. The choice therefore remains with yourself; in the mean time your place in the joint commission being vacated in either event, we shall take the measures rendered necessary by that": &c., &c.

Mr. Madison in his letter to me dated on the 17th of July also observes, "I have the honor to enclose a private letter from the President, which renders it unnecessary for me to say more in reference to y^e considerations which personally interest you than that he acquiesces in your proposed return to y^e U. S., but with y^e wish to avail y^e public of your services at Madrid, if not disagreeable to you, *and if there be no objection to this arrangement presented by circumstances in our affairs with Spain better known to you than to us.*"

It was these paragraphs of the President & Mr. Madison's letters, taken in connection with our last instructions of the 15th of July, which made it questionable in my mind how far any negotiation with Spain c^d take place under the present joint commission: supposing that Mr. Madison had acquainted you with the general contents of these letters, I did not think it necessary to sooner inform you of them.

It was with a view of meeting y^e present crisis of our

affairs as well as that our country sh^d derive all the advantages from it which it presents that I made you the proposition I did of joining you in a letter to Mr. Erving, that he might apply to the Spanish gov^t to procure if possible the appointment of commissioners to confer with us upon the several points & interests pending between y^e two states, and as a motive thereto to suggest to y^e Spanish gov^t the desire of this gov^t to see a happy termination of our disputes as well as y^e sense that it entertains of our territorial rights & claims in regard to Louisiana. I can safely say that I saw nothing in this proposition incompatible with the views of the President or with M^r Madison's last instructions, wherein he says "that the President trusts that our management of the whole business will be such as will best comport with the circumstances of the crisis, & conduce most to the objects entrusted to us," especially as y^e President as well as Mr. Madison had acquainted me that the circumstances which had rendered it ineligible that I sh^d proceed to Madrid had been removed: whereby it must be supposed that there c^d be no impropriety in directing a communication to be made to y^e Spanish gov^t on the subject of the subsisting differences.

My proposition was made with no view to press myself into this service, but merely to fulfill a duty which the present crisis in our affairs seemed to enjoin. But if you still continue to think that this gov^t will not interpose its mediation & y^e Spanish gov^t not be induced to appoint commissioners to meet us, I shall take the decision which in that case I shall think necessary to pursue.

I am, Sir, y^r most ob. servant.

PARIS, 15 Sep^r 1807. I send you y^e foregoing copy of my letter to Gen^l Armstrong that you may be apprized of every thing w^{ch} is passing. I have only time to subscribe myself very respectfully yours.

J. B.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

(Copy.)

PARIS, Sep^r 16th, 1807.

It is a part of the last paragraph only of Mr. Bowdoin's letter, of the 14th instant which requires an answer, viz: "If, says Mr. Bowdoin, you still continue to think that this government will not interpose its mediation and the Spanish government cannot be induced to appoint commissioners to meet us, I shall take the decision which in that case I shall think it necessary to pursue."

My opinions on these heads are of the less importance to Mr. Bowdoin, as I have already had the honor of putting before him the answers of this government, verbal & written, to my several applications; and as with regard to the disposition of the Court of Spain, I know nothing, except what Mr. Bowdoin (in his letter of the 19th of August) has himself been pleased to communicate.

I have the honor of offering to Mr. Bowdoin the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) JOHN ARMSTRONG.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.*

G. W. ERVING.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have lately enclosed you copies of my correspond^{ce} with Gen. A. w^{ch} I hope you have duly rec^d, as also the copies of letters from y^e Presid^t & from Madison to me with a copy of M^r Madison's letter to Gen^l A. & me & also the copies of y^e continuance of my correspond^{ce}. Gen^l A's last letter (16) rec^d the last evening I now send you. My determination being to quit Paris on my return home as soon as I shall hear that y^e Prince of Peace continues in his late disposition of not

* This letter is written below the copy of General Armstrong's note of September 16 to Mr. Bowdoin. — Eds.

permitting a negotiation to be opened on y^e subject of y^e subsisting differences on y^e proposition of y^e President under y^e joint commⁿ entrusted to Gen. A. & me. I shall wait with impatience your reply to this letter. I hope therefore you will not fail to write me immediately on the rec^t of it, & to acquaint me with y^e actual disposition of the Spanish gov^t & whatever you know or can obtain upon the subject of it, that it may not be said that I had abandoned the public interest, althô I had the President's permission to retire. If you have any thing to send to Engl^d, or that you wish I sh^d procure for you while there, I beg you will acquaint me with it by the first post after rec^d this letter. In case there is no likelihood of a negotiation, w^{ch} I can hardly hope for, I shall proceed from hence for Engl^d where I shall pass y^e winter & early in y^e spring I shall embark for the U. S. If I can render you any service you will freely command me. I am apprehensive that you will not find things as much to your mind as you may expect, the tendency of our politics at home, as well as your connection if you are to have one with 1501 do not forbode any thing very agreeable. Observe to be very particular what you write either to Mr M—— or 1501; be assured you stand in need of this hint. I am so oppressed with business that it is not in my power to write you on the subject of our affairs generally or in regard to present political appearances.

Believe me always, d^r Sir, with great regard yours, &c^a.

PARIS, Sep. 20, 1807.

JAMES MONROE AND WILLIAM PINKNEY TO
JAMES BOWDOIN.

LONDON, October 10, 1807.

SIR, — The circumstances attending the late aggression on the sovereignty of the United States by an attack

of an American frigate off the capes of Virginia by a British ship of war, the *Leopard*, are well known to you. Being an act of hostility, it could not fail to produce the most important effect on the political relations of the two countries. It was made the ground of immediate remonstrance to the British government, who did not hesitate to disavow the act and the principle on which it was founded. Our government perceiving the connection which that outrage had with the general practice of impressment found in it a new motive for insisting on the suppression of the practice, while it claimed of this government other reparation for the injury which the United States had received by so great an indignity. In obedience to the orders of the President this claim has been brought by Mr Monroe to the view of the British government, and urged with great earnestness, but without producing an arrangement of the interest in question. The pressure has terminated in a decision of this government, which has been officially announced, to send a minister to the United States with full powers to adjust the business with our government. It is understood that this minister will be sent for this special object, but we have not been advised either of the person who is to be employed in it, or of the full extent of his powers. It is impossible, therefore, for us to form a satisfactory opinion of the result of the measure. We hasten, however, to communicate to you the actual state of the business, on the presumption that it may be useful to the United States, and satisfactory to you to be acquainted with it. This letter is committed to Doctor J. Bullers, who brought us dispatches from our government, and who takes this to you by its order.

We have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your obedient servants.

JAS MONROE.

WM PINKNEY.

JAMES BOWDOIN, ESQ^R., &C., &C., &C. PARIS.

JAMES MONROE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

LONDON, Oct^r 11, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR, — Our joint letter gives you the result of the pression which I have made on this gov^t relative to the late aggression in the case of the Chesapeake. It is determined to send a minister to the U. S. to treat on the subject with our gov^t, to which measure I have neither given support or opposition. The decision left me without anything to do, & of course at liberty to return home, w^h I am now preparing to do, tho^t the season is far advanc'd. We expect to sail in ab^t 8 days from this time, having engaged the cabbⁿ of a ship which sails for the Chesapeake, the Augustus, Captain Howe. I greatly rejoice that I am able to set out for my country after all the difficulties to which I have been exposed & distress of mind which I have sufferd. M^{rs} Monroe & my daughter unite to mine their best regards to M^{rs} Bowdoin & Miss Winthrop. Be so good also as to remember me particularly to M^r Sullivan. D^r Bullers will supply in details of publick affairs what it is impossible for me to add. I beg you to be assured that I am, with very sincere regard, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours.

JA^s MONROE.Remember me to M^r Barnett.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W^m ERVING, Esq^e.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have had the pleasure to rec^d your letter of the 12 & 19th & 22^d of August, with the papers accompanying it by M^r Merriault, & also yours of the 12th & 16th Sep^t by post. They shew what have been the results of discussion between you & y^e Spanish gov^t, as

well as the little probability there is that France will so interfere in our disputes as to procure the appointment of commissioners on the part of Spain for their arrangement. This important point is so fully ascertained that no doubt can be left on its subject, and that this gov^t has been amusing 1501 whilst he himself has been amused with that scoundrel Pa——s schemes of speculation, who has had the impudence to palm them upon a principal officer of this gov^t, while 1501 has been the instrument of imposing them upon the President. I notice that you write to y^e scoundrel, but I hope you have no concerns with him of any sort, or if you have you cannot too soon put an end to them. My situation here has been made as disagreeable to me as a worthless corrupt fellow could make it. Even my letters from y^e President & from gov^t have been opened or intercepted by him, and I believe that both the French & Americans here have but one opinion in regard to him, w^{ch} is that he is as unfit as unworthy of the place he holds. I thank God I have done with him, & I hope forever. I give you these hints to put you upon your guard, that you may not be drawn into a connection, or give him your confidence. M^r Skipwith you will find a man of honour, and both able & willing to give you any political information you may want here. M^r Barnet will send you newspapers or execute any commission you may want. If you write to M^r Barnet you must permit him to charge you with the postage and the little incidental expenses on any thing you may desire. I herewith send you the rec^{ts} for newspapers that you may see how to give M^r Barnet instructions relative to them in future. I pray you to give Alex^r if he is with you a guinea for a number of little things he did for me after I left London. I c^d write you on the state of our affairs, but I have not time & do not think it necessary. We have whispers here that Engl^d has accepted the mediation of Russia, but

I don't know how to credit it & I have not much confidence in the quarter from which I rec^d it. The Guards & some of the principal corps of the French army are on their march to return to Paris. I beg you to write me when I shall be in Lond^o under the care of the American minister, or of M^r Tho^s Dickason, as you see best. Remember that postage in Engl^d is a serious expense, & pray don't burthen me with bulky papers. I shall leave the few official papers I have with M^r Skipwith, subject to your orders. I shall write you fully from Engl^d if I find a way open, of which you must acquaint you. M^r Barnet will acquaint you with the day of my quitting Paris, which I expect will be in a few days. My things at S^t Ander I suppose are on their passage to Boston. If you wanted any of them I am sorry you did not give me timely notice of it. I am now to take my leave of you, & to wish you prosperity & success in your official proceedings at Madrid, and to assure you that it will always give me pleasure to see you in America, where I conclude you will find it both your pleasure & interest to pass the evening of life. M^{rs} B., my niece, & M^r S. join me in best regards.

Believe me always, with much esteem & attachment,
my d^r Sir,

Yours.

PARIS, Oct^o 11, 1807.

WILLIAM LYMAN TO JAMES MADISON.

(Copy.)

AMERICAN CONSULATE AND AGENCY, LONDON,
October 23, 1807.

JAMES MADISON, Esq^r, Secretary of State,
Washington.

SIR, — As the practice of impressing our seamen into the British navy, connected as it is, or rather I should

* William Lyman was born in Northampton Dec. 7, 1755, and graduated at Yale College in 1776. Not much is known of his early life, but in Shays's insurrection he was an

say exemplified as it was in the late attack of his Britannick Majesty's ship of war the *Leopard* on the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, had become a momentous point or subject of discussion between the two countries, I deemed it would not be unacceptable to communicate not only every official but other information which this situation afforded. Accordingly I had the honour to address you in the premises both on the 1st and 14th of August last; which letters I doubt not will be duly received. And at this time I come further to observe that instantly after the particulars of that enormity were understood here there appeared a steady and constant endeavour on the part of this government and administration, and also amongst the apologists for the political transactions of this country to separate that outrage, as wholly disconnected therewith, from the claim and practice which gave rise to and was the cause thereof. The absurdity of the conclusion sufficiently exposed the fallacy of this mode of reasoning. Will it be pretended that the necessary satisfaction for an injury or aggression is made unless the remedy goes to the cause. But suppose a division of the subject and that the most ample reparation in point of form is offered for that particular aggression, can it be the disposition of the United States, is it compatible with their honour and welfare, longer to submit to injuries so ruinous and degrading to their citizens, even to avert hostilities? To me it seems not. And I will venture to say that whenever the information of this office is disclosed and made public the world will be surprised and our friends blush at our forbearance under such indignities. It is in this case as in all cases

aid to General Shepard. In 1787 he was a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and in 1789 a member of the Senate. From 1793 to 1797 he was a member of Congress, and from 1796 to 1800 a brigadier-general in the Massachusetts militia. In 1805 he was made United States Consul at London. He died in Cheltenham Sept. 22, 1811. He was buried in Gloucester Cathedral. See Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, vol. iii. pp. 619, 620. — Eds.

of injuries particularly between nations: The patient submission is considered as implying either want of power or spirit to avenge our wrongs and only invites a further aggression. And most certainly the truth of this axiom is fully verified in this practise of impressment. For this government, or rather most of its officers, from a toleration in such an unrestrained and capricious exercise of power seem now to claim it as a right, and in very many instances, particularly when in want of men, totally disregard every circumstance and evidence of citizenship or national character, accompanied with the retort of a disdainful curse for both character and country; and in all cases the most frivolous pretexts, or even "suspicions light as air are confirmations strong," to set aside the best founded claims. In short the instruments of this brief authority play such fantastic tricks as to make e'en angels weep. Individuals who are impressed are often bound, starved and scourged into submission and a service abhorrent to their feelings and repugnant to their duties. There is not, at this time, I believe, a single ship of war in the British navy, whose crew does not consist partly, and in some instances on distant stations principally, of American seamen. The testimony of a number of men discharged from a frigate lately arrived from the West Indies concurred in the assurance that four-fifths of her 250 men were Americans. And authentic information communicated to this office proves that about 50 of our seamen were on board the *Bellona*, *Douglas*, the Commodore's ship, in Hampton Roads, at the time of the attack on the Chesapeake, and that he knew them to be such, and even added, which in justice to him I must not omit, that in case of hostilities with the United States they should not be forced to fight against their country. Indeed every enterprize and naval engagement, the capture of *Buones Ayres* or victory of *Trafalgar*, are pregnant with evidence of

American sacrifice and valour. The number of those now forcibly held in the British naval service cannot, I am confident, from the information in this office be estimated at less than fifteen thousand, who are continually falling victims to a dangerous service and a keen sense of their wrongs; — this, too, in addition to the individual and national injustice of submission whereto I believe no nation can furnish an example, must justly be viewed and complained of by the other belligerents as at the least a sin of omission and passive infraction of our neutrality.

The foregoing remarks and observations I have been impelled to add to the regular details and returns of this office, I confess, from a high sense of the wrong; and also because I have constantly witnessed, especially of late, a disposition on the part of this government and all its apologists and apostles to keep this subject out of sight. They continually observe that Great Britain hath from time immemorial exercised the right of search and taking her seamen from private vessels. You would not surely, say they, therefore go to war about a few men. To this I reply, that this right as it respects all nations except ourselves is, on account of their language and manner, a mere dormant and harmless claim, a thing only on paper or imaginary, not practical as towards us; the reason probably why it never was by them seriously contested. But suppose this right allowed, we have another right; which is to insist that if like Shylock (you will pardon the allusion) they insist on taking the flesh they shall not take a drop of blood. The right to take their own does not involve the right to take our seamen. Wherefore we have the right at the least to insist that the former shall be so regulated and exercised as to leave untouched the latter.

Having said thus much relative to this important subject of complaint, it is but just to add some remarks on the practice and disposition of this government in afford-

ing individual reparation. And in the first place it must be observed the burthen of proof is invariably put on the part of the application; and, on the production thereof and statement of the case to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, it is by them disposed of by advising that the applicant is on foreign service and station, and therefore that no steps can be taken for his discharge, or otherwise ordering a report by the admiral of the station where he may happen to be, particularly in the case. And here again either rules the most arbitrary and capricious or no rules at all or pretexts the most frivolous and even subterfuges the most pitiful for the most prevail. At one time no such person is to be found, because perhaps he has been mustered by a different name; at another the document or evidence is insufficient; or he has entered; or is thought to be an Irishman or an impostor or has married in Ireland, &c., &c., &c., or some one other of the causes equally weighty, and so numerous as to tire e'en Fabius to relate, and which to read, I feel, must excite the most painful and indignant emotions. However, to you who have so amply the talents of knowing and vindicating a country's rights or avenging her wrongs a further recital will be unnecessary.

But, although the right is admitted, the want of power to maintain it will, I foresee, be objected, and the imagination, as I have witnessed on a former critical occasion, assailed with all the magnified consequences and evils of a war; and even a bloody Indian warfare will be conjured up to add terror to the scene. And is it then intended to relinquish and abandon the protection of our seamen on board our own vessels? Pardon me for putting the question. It cannot be. Sooner rather would I expect the determination to perish nobly in the conflict. No; but Great Britain will finally yield to sober reasoning and sound argument and acknowledge or concede this right.

But is there any precedent on record to encourage this

expectation? And what says our experience of twenty years? How stand the facts at this juncture? Why, that the practice of impressment hath continually grown and encreased with our long sufferance, and now is followed with I may say a shameless arrogance and effrontery; just forsooth as if Great Britain were considered the executor and residuary legatee of the sailors of all nations and the rights of the sea.

There is, I am aware, another objection against decisive and vigorous measures on the part of the United States at this time urged; which certainly is founded in truth, yet nevertheless is not entitled to all the consideration commonly yielded thereto. It is this, that the United States are growing, and must consequently at some future period be better able to repel aggression and assert their national dignity. This, to be sure, I do not deny. But it does not thence follow that they are unable at this time. And for one I humbly presume to think that nothing contributes more essentially to safety and greatness than a just estimate and regard for ourselves. It is indeed among the first of both moral and political duties: the non-performance thereof is commonly followed by a proportionate punishment or calamity. For a nation, it appears to me, there can be no sounder maxim than to do justice to all, fear none, and never forget their friends.

However, from this contemplation of evils to ourselves, permit me to turn your attention to those which the adversary will have to encounter:—such as the loss of colonies and our commerce; the decay of manufactures, with the declension of agriculture and husbandry; the embarrassment of finance and deficiency of revenue; and, finally, *non ambiguis spargere voces*, a national bankruptcy and revolution. If even we but stay our hand the system here will be paralysed and cease to move.

Thus you see, Sir, that in the event of a war this country will have little to hope (for she can only annoy

our commerce) and every thing to fear; whereas on the contrary the United States would have nothing to fear and every thing to hope. For it must be remembered that even in the Revolution war a French fleet sailed undisturbed up the Channel, and a small squadron of two or three of our ships, under John Paul Jones, sailed round and landed several times, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants on this island, and thereafter defeated one of their squadrons and took several of their ships. What ought not therefore to be calculated upon now?

Notwithstanding your so extensive means of information, particularly by Mr Monroe, who at this time is about to sail in the Augustus for the Chesapeake Bay, I have thought it not irrelevant to the occasion and my situation thus much to observe; and I hope the sincerity of the motive may serve as an apology for the effort.

I pray you to be assured of the high consideration with which I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

(Signed) W^m LYMAN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO GEORGE W. ERVING.

GEO. W^m ERVING, Esq^r.

MY DEAR SIR, — Without entering into a detailed reply to your letters of the 23d of Sep. & of the 6th & 8th instant, the latter rec^d here, & the former y^e evening before quitting Paris, I w^d observe, that by the Presid^t's letter to me of the 10th of July, he seems to think that y^e honor of our gov^t had been satisfied in the recall of Yrujo; & that I might proceed with propriety to Madrid; if so, for what purpose sh^d I proceed? if not to enter upon the business of a minister & attempt those negotiations there which c^d not & I believe will not be obtained at Paris. The President may appoint another minister,

& pursue the schemes of deception w^{ch} have been marked out for him by 1501, & his motley coadjutors ; but nothing but an extreme case will give such a treaty as will be desired & accepted by the U. S. The chapter of accid^{ts} may produce one ; but regular & progressive negotiation grounded on the motives & interests of y^e respective parties will not ; that is, thrô a French mediation without the intervention of special & particular causes.

With respect to another point on which you request explanation I w^d only observe that you will probably find the man of whom you enquire & of whom I have given you a hint does not deserve your confid^{ce} : he is a candidate for — & will pursue all means, *fas aut nefas* to obtain his object ; and you may be assured he cannot bear the man who is supposed to have the least regard for your friend lately in Lond^o. This unpardonable sin you have committed, & you may rest assured it will not be forgiven, whatever you may suppose to the contrary ! This sufficiently explains the hint given in respect to one man, whilst I must suppose you cannot give your confid^{ce} to the other : you must however be guarded agst his tricks & deceptions & prevent your correspond^{ce} except with himself, from passing thrô his hands ; for you may be assured it will be read or purloined : this is what I have experienced & you have nothing better to expect from him !

M^r Monroe wrote me the 11th instant from London & he expected to embark in the Augustus, Cap^t Hawes, in 8 days : no treaty or concessions have been made by the British gov^t, & they send out a minister specially to treat at Washington : so that no hostilities will be expected until the result of y^e negotiation is had. Write me by every opp^{ty} under cover to M^r Pinkney, or of Tho^s Dickason, jun^r. My last letter to you was dated the 11 inst^t at Paris. Adieu & believe me always with great regard, in w^{ch} my family join.

Yours, &c^a.

CHERBOURG, Oct 26th, 1807.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

MONTICELLO, May 29, 08.

DEAR SIR, — I recieved the favor of your letter written soon after your arrival a little before I left Washington, & during a press of business preparatory to my departure on a short visit to this place. This has prevented my earlier congratulations to you on your safe return to your own country. There, judging from my own experience, you will enjoy much more of the tranquil happiness of life than is to be found in the noisy scenes of the great cities of Europe. I am also aware that you had at Paris additional causes of disquietude. These seem inseparable from public life, and indeed are the greatest discouragements to entering into or continuing in it. Perhaps however they sweeten the hour of retirement and secure us from all dangers of regret. On the subject of that disquietude, it is proper for me only to say that however unfortunate the incident I found in it no cause of dissatisfaction with yourself, nor of lessening the esteem I entertain for your virtues & talents; & had it not been disagreeable to yourself I should have been well pleased that you could have proceeded on your original destination.

While I thank you for the several letters I recieved from you during your absence, I have to regret the miscarriage of some of those I wrote you. Not having my papers here I cannot cite their dates by memory; but they shall be the subject of another letter on my return to Washington.

You find us on your return in a crisis of great difficulty. An embargo had by the course of events become the only peaceable card we had to play. Should neither peace nor a revocation of the decrees & orders in Europe take place the day cannot be distant when that will cease to be preferable to open hostility. Nothing just or temperate

has been omitted on our part to retard or to avoid this unprofitable alternative. Our situation will be the more singular, as we may have to chuse between two enemies who have both furnished cause of war. With one of them we could never come into contact; with the other great injuries may be mutually inflicted & recieved. Let us still hope to avoid, while we prepare to meet them.

Hoping you will find our cloudless skies & benign climate more favorable to your health than those of Europe, I pray you to accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great esteem & consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MR BOWDOIN.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO HENRY DEARBORN.

No. 83.

I HASTEN, my dear Sir, to thank you for your friendly & obliging letter of y^e 28th ult^o; & I am extremely sorry that the salutary measure of y^e Embargo meets so much opposition in this State: it is certainly a call upon y^e patriotism of the country to submit to it with patience, to give it a fair experiment to prove its effects upon the belligerent nations to induce them to respect our flag & our commercial rights under y^e acknowledged law of nations.

The British orders of council, notwithstanding what is suggested on y^e face of them, were not called for to retaliate the Berlin decree, which proved a nugatory measure for nearly twelve months, & might probably have continued so for a longer time, had it not have derived force & effect from y^e measures of y^e British cabinet: the inference therefore is that to retaliate the French decree, although the ostensible, was not the real ground of y^e orders. Cobbet's Register & some of y^e ministerial pam-

tience the pleasure of soon seeing & conversing with you here. M^{rs} Bowdoin joins me in respectful compliments to you & M^{rs} Dearborn.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with great esteem & regard,
Yr. most ob. servant.

J. BOWDOIN.

Boston, June 5th, 1808.

P. S. I wrote to M^r Madison y^e morning after my arrival & enclosed him M^r Pinkney's dispatches. I sh^d have written y^e Presid^t ere this, but I have been separated from my papers by living with Lady Temple until y^e day before yesterday. This circumstance added to the presence of all kinds of business consequent upon re-establishing myself after so long an absence, must plead my apology.

GEORGE W. ERVING TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

MADRID, Aug^t 27th, 1808.

TO THE HONORABLE JAMES BOWDOIN.

MY DEAR SIR, — A very favorable occasion of writing to the United States by the ship Leonidas, which has brought government stores to Algiers, presenting itself I cannot but profit of an advantage, in these times so rare, of paying my respects to you & M^{rs} Bowdoin, who I am very glad to hear have both safely arrived in our happy country. Perhaps duly to estimate the advantages which as a nation we possess it is necessary to have resided in Europe, or at least to have passed over it with some attention; hence we have so many unquiet spirits. I wish that some patriotic old gentleman like Tom Boylston would leave his wealth to establish a fund for paying the expences of their travelling. For myself at least I am certain that I am now by far a better citizen than I should have been if I had remained at home.

If I was very glad when you determined to return to the United States what has lately passed on this theatre has added most abundantly to the motives for congratulating you on having taken that decision ; — such a course of events ! — I wont characterize them further than to say that no country in this revolutionary age has experienced more rapid, more extraordinary & more *disagreeable* changes ; we have been under military government, *people* government, & altogether without government ; these have each of them been duly attended by the suite of evils which respectively belong to them. Thank God, at present there is the best prospect of a regular orderly state of things. The representatives from the provinces will meet here about the 10th of the month ensuing & form a system from which there is every reason to believe that Spain will derive important advantages, & such indeed as to leave but little regret for the sacrifices which have been made to obtain them. From the talents, the lights & the patriotism of those men whom the revolution has brought into view every thing may be expected. As during the course of these transactions the communication between this & the provinces has been entirely closed, you have already received more details respecting their operations than I am able to give you. Suffice it to say that the French have been everywhere completely beaten, in some places by regular troops, in others by half armed peasantry ; they have been driven from all their posts, & have left behind them all their artillery & baggage. The King Joseph has been obliged to fly, & may consider himself very fortunate if he should be able to get on the other side the Pyrennes. In addition to what you will see in the publick papers upon the present state of affairs ; this is a brief summary, — viz. The French have not more than from 6 to 8000 men left in Barcelona ; these are closely pressed by the Catalonians & must inevitably be destroyed. The last reinforce-

ments which were sent by the Emperor to Zaragosa were entirely cut up foot & horse. The remains of his force in Navarre make not more than 3 or 4000. Palafox with near 20,000 men is close at their heels, & Navarre is also in arms;—hence there is no possibility that the 4000 can effect a retreat. The Spanish troops from S^t Ander under the Bishop have taken possession of the pass at Pancorvo; the French in pushing towards it abandoned Burgos with more precipitation than they did Madrid, they left not only their cannon & baggage, but in fine every individual thing, “their watches upon the tables,” as a Spaniard told me;—it appears that they could not force the pass & King Jos^h has returned to Burgos; against which place is marching a very fine army of upwards of 40,000 men from Gallicia; a great body also from Arragon; & from hence may be sent at least 30,000 more; there cannot be 20,000 French at Burgos, so that their fate seems also inevitable. In Portugal Junot is rather worse off, because it is impossible that he can receive reinforcements, his army is reduced to less than 10,000, & he has Spanish, Portuguese, & English forces on all sides of him. With all this I do not think that the Emperor will abandon his project; yet what is past does not seem to afford the most remote probability of success.

The Danish, Dutch, & Saxon envoys followed King Joseph. The Nuncio, Russia & Austria with myself remain. Yet it may not be inferred that Russia is about to engage against France; I rather think that appearances are in favor of the supposition that she will unite with France & fall forthwith upon Austria. The latter manifestly expects an attack from some quarter.

You will see immediately all the bearings of these late events upon our affairs; therefore it will be needless for me to enter upon that subject. They require more than ever a steady helm.

I hope that I shall one day have the pleasure of conversing with you at large upon all these interesting matters; but I have had a very narrow escape from an entire disappointment in my future prospects. On the night of the 19 July in returning to my house from a neighbour's I was attacked by two assassins; one of whom having a drawn sword in his hand aimed a thrust at me, in retreating from which backwards I tripped against a stone & fell & thus avoided him, but on rising from the ground he made a more successful push, happily not a complete one; the sword struck one of my ribs just under the right breast & made a wound of about four inches long, but did not enter deep; the cries of a servant boy who accompanied me alarmed the assassins & they then escaped.

The Council of Castile has taken a proper interest in this transaction, & used its usual industry to discover the guilty, hitherto without success; an anonymous letter has pretended to indicate to me the promoter of the attempt, an Italian of a very suspicious character, pretending to be a citizen of the United States, & actually a French spy; but what credit is due to this suggestion I do not know; & am wholly at a loss to conjecture what may have been the motive of the person pointed out or of any other to kill me, & therefore rather conclude that the assassins were either robbers (tho they did not attempt to rob me, & I am assured that it is not usual to kill here unless one's money is refused, as in all other Christian countries) or that they mistook me for a Frenchman, for at that time many Frenchmen were disposed of in a similar manner. Be this as it may the case will not happen again; it is a curious circumstance however that a foreign minister in this court should be reduced to the necessity of always carrying pistols in his pocket!

I beg to be presented very respectfully & kindly to

M^{rs} Bowdoin, Miss Sally if she is yet a Miss, & to all enquiring friends.

With very sincere respect & esteem, my dear Sir,
Yours truly.

GEORGE W. ERVING

[*Confidential.*]

P. S. By this same conveyance I have written officially & privately to M^r M. requesting *leave of absence* & therefore flatter myself to be able to leave this in Nov^r or Dec^r, pass over to England if the state of our relations with that country admit, employ some few weeks there in settling my affairs, from thence go direct to Boston for the object which you know, for which purpose I shall hire or buy a vessel in London, & after passing a short time in Boston go to Washington, settle my accounts, and then — I have no ultimate project.

JAMES MONROE TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

RICHMOND, Jan^y 17th, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was very sorry to learn by your kind letter of Nov^r, the new disasters w^h had befall'n our friend M^r Skipwith. The part which you immediately took in his behalf did equal honor to your heart & to his merit. He is an honest & in my judgment a much injurd man. As such he has strong claims on the friendship of those who know him well, and been witnesses of his hard fortune. The history of the transactions in which he has been engaged is well known to you. I possess a general idea only, having been far removed from the scene, and warned at the time by many circumstances that my attention could be of no use to him; but I know enough to be satisfied that he has been

greatly oppressed & injured. I doubt whether it is possible for his friends to do justice to him in his absence. I am inclined to think that he must return to his country & vindicate his own cause; or not being able to return (sho^d the hand w^h arrested be able to keep him abroad) do it by instruction to some friend here. The act must be his own for it to have the proper effect. It is a melancholy spectacle to see so honest & patriotick a man completely run down. It is however to be hoped that he will finally obtain justice, & enjoy that consideration among his fellow citizens to which he has so fair a claim.*

Permit me to consult you on a subject which relates to myself. You have known my conduct abroad with the several governments where I have represented our country and seen the difficulties of our situation with each. Your residence in France & England, and perfect acquaintance with our transactions with those powers, and likewise with Spain, by the superior opportunities which you have possessed from your official station, enable you to form a more correct judgment on this subject than any other of my friends. You have seen me return home, after near five years service in the important trusts confided to me, not only injured in my fortune but prosecuted in my fame. Conscious of havg. exerted myself with unwearied zeal & integrity to support the rights & interests of my country with each of those powers, I did hope that I sho^d have escaped these unmerciful attacks. My letter from this town of Feby. 28 last answers M^r Madison's critique on the treaty, so that I am not aware

* For a notice of Fulwar Skipwith see *ante*, p. 309 note. In the library of the Historical Society there is much printed and manuscript matter relating to his financial transactions, including the "*Mémoire pour James C. Mountflorenc, Citoyen des Etats-Unis, résidant en France depuis plus de douze ans, Demandeur; contre Fulwar Skipwith, Citoyen des mêmes Etats, leur agent commercial à Paris, y demeurant depuis et avant l'année 1794, Défendeur*," — a printed pamphlet of sixty-three quarto pages, and several other pamphlets relating to the suit. In 1826, and also about two years before, he was an unsuccessful applicant for the office of postmaster at New Orleans (see *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, vol. vii. p. 201). — Eds.

that it will be necessary to add any thing on that subject. My idea was, possessing as we did few means of coercion after pushing our pretensions as far as they could be carried, that it was wise policy to close on the terms of the treaty. I thought those conditions honorable & advantageous to our country; that the impressment interest was plac'd, by the paper of the British com^{rs} of Nov^r 8, 1806, and the explanations w^h accompanied it at that time, and afterwards when the treaty was signed, on quite a safe footing; that the trade with enemy-colonies was plac'd on a very advantageous one; that the navigation interest in the direct trade was equally well arranged; and that other points were plac'd on an admissible one. You know that after the failure of the business with Spain, & our acquiescence under it, by opening a new negotiation with the French gov^t in which new accommodations were offered, when a different tone might have been expected, that we had it less in our power to impose terms on G. Britain than we might have done if we had acted otherwise towards those powers. My idea was that it was important to stand well with some one power; and finding it impossible to come to any arrangement with the others, that it was highly expedient to close with the other on the conditions secur'd by the treaty. I was satisfied that by so doing we sho^d improve our condition with France & Spain, & thereby pass triumphantly thro' the war compar'd with the condition of any other nation under the sun & with that of the U. States in the preceding war. Had we adjusted our business with England, France would have perceived that by pressing us by new decrees or by new explanations of that of Berlin she would have forc'd us into a closer connection with England, & that consideration would have induc'd her not to press us. As it is we have got into a state of hostility, or what is nearly allied to it, with both parties, while our

interior is far from being in a state of content or even tranquility.

Among other unfounded imputations it has been insinuated that I had had some connection with the Republican minority in the Congress, while I was abroad. I did presume that my conduct thro' life independant of the facts w^h were well known of it in the late missions would have rescued me from such an imputation. My advice on leaving Spain had been (as given to Mr. Madison in a private letter of May 24, 1805) to press the business with that power; and on my return to London after the seizure of our vessels by G. Britain I advised the same course with her. The latter sentiment was communicated in an official dispatch of Oct^r 18, 1805, in which I stated & answer'd the question "whether it was safe for us to assert & support our pretensions with both parties at the same time," by declaring that I thought it adviseable to act with each, as if we had no cause of complaint with the other. Neither did the admⁿ or the Republican minority take the course which I advised. The admⁿ pressed the business with *Britain only*, & the minority was for pressing it with *Spain only*. Till after the disagreement between them, I did not know what course either party would pursue. I could not tell what course the admⁿ would take till it had adopted it. I supposed that it would take the one which I had advised, because it seemed to me at least most likely to succeed. It was not likely that I sho^d anticipate a difference of opinion on a question of policy between the admⁿ & me, and stimulate any of the members of Congress to attack the admⁿ on that ground, especially those who had been & were in the constant & systematick habit of supporting the admⁿ; for such it is well known had been the conduct of M^r Randolph, &c., to that time. Had I given such advice & it been acted on by those members, it is presumable that they would have adopted

my plan; the fact however was that they did not; it is equally true that they knew nothing of it, untill after they had taken their own, when my letter of the 18 of Sep^r above mentiond was laid before Congress. It is known that when that communication was rec^d M^r R. complained that it had not been sooner laid before Congress, as a knowledge of its contents might have produced an effect on its proceedings. These facts & considerations ought to have exempted me from such imputations, had I merited before the character of an intriguer & been remarkable for a false & hollow policy in my transactions with the world. It was impossible for me to express my sentiment on the part which the Republican minority took untill after it had taken, & I been advised of it. An opportunity was afforded me in that stage by M^r R. to communicate to him my ideas on the subject, w^h I availed myself of, & can assure you that I did not hesitate to express my regret at it in as strong terms as a delicate respect for his character would permit. I wrote him two letters on that subject, of which I retained copies w^h I should be happy to show you, & which you would find to contain nothing to justify the imputations alluded to, or which even the malevolent could censure. I have expressd in those letters my opinions on some points, especially that of naval defense, in terms correspondent with those which you know I have long entertained.

The above are the principal grounds on which I have been calumniated in this quarter, tho' it is possible that other charges may have been levelled against me elsewhere. The latter charge I have never notic'd in any publick communication, because I had flatter'd myself that my character wo^d justify me against it where I was known, and that the facts above stated would do it with every other person.

I wish you to give me your unreserved opinion whether

there is any point on which I have been assailed by political opponents or others on which my conduct requires further explanation with a view to do justice to it in the eyes of my fellow citizens. I am far from wishing to injure any one even in defense of myself, especially those with whom I have been long connected in friendship & political harmony. I presume that that is not a necessary consequence of my own defense & I sho^d certainly avoid giving it such a bearing. Nothing however but indispensable necessity would induce me to draw the publick attention to me in any shape at this time; nothing but a deep conviction of injury & the advice of such friends as possess my entire confidence that I owed it to the vindication of my own character, and that it might be done without a possibility of injury to the publick cause.

You have seen the correspondence between the President & myself lately published. That document goes fully as I presumed to exculpate me from censure. I requested the publication of it with that view in part. I wished also that my conduct in the correspondence, which preserved on its antient ground the relation of friendship with him, might be known to the publick, while it left in force my objections to certain measures of his admⁿ. His publick life has been illustrious & useful, & I shall always take great interest in his happiness.

My family, in which my daughter unites her sentiments to those of her mother, desire to be affectionately remembered to M^{rs} Bowdoin & Miss Winthrop. Her connection with M^r Hay was every way agreeable to us.* To great talents in his profession & of a political nature & perfect morality he adds the most amiable qualities of the domestick kind. We live near each other, a circumstance which will keep us much more in this town than

* Eliza, one of the daughters of Mr. Monroe, married Hon. George Hay, who conducted the prosecution against Aaron Burr. — Eds.

we sho^d otherwise be. They unite in presenting their best regards to you & Mr Sullivan. I have heard with great regret of the death of his father, whose life would have been most eminently useful at the present epoch. Such men cannot be spared when the cause of which they are the ornament & support is in danger.

I am, dear Sir, with sincere & constant friendship,

Very truly yours.

JA^s MONROE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

IN the first part of the Temple and Bowdoin Papers (6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix. pp. 480-482) the Committee printed from John Temple's rough draught a memorial addressed by him to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1782, with a suggestion that it might not have been sent to the Legislature in the precise form in which it had come into their hands. Since that time the memorial actually presented has been found among some manuscripts in the possession of the Boston Athenæum. The variations are numerous but not material, but as the document is one of considerable interest and importance, it is here given in the form finally adopted.

JOHN TEMPLE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, ETC.

TO THE HONORABLE THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND TO THE
HONORABLE THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN, — A direct & willful *falsehood* having been advanced by a writer who signs *James Sullivan* in a letter addressed to me, in the Continental Journal of Thursday the 22^d ultimo, in which he says, that in the memorial I had the honor of presenting thro' you on the 29th of April last, to the two Houses of Assembly, I have therein *avered* that I procured & transmitted to this country the well remembered treasonable & incendiary letters of the late Gov^r Hutchinson, Oliver, & others, and that I had therein also demanded of my country a reward for that transaction, and the said Sullivan having also commented upon the same, in his newspaper

letter, as tho' what he had so asserted were facts! will your Honors be pleased to look into the said memorial now on the files of the General Court (copy of which I did not reserve to myself) and signify whither or not I have *avered* either that I did procure & send the said letters to this country? or that I have demanded any kind of reward or compensation for having sent them?

In the memorial I had the honor of presenting to the two Houses I believe your Honors will find it set forth that Doctor Franklin and myself were dismissed from all the employments we held under the Crown of England expressly for our attachment to the cause of our country, and particularly for having obtained & transmitted to the State of Massachusetts, as the British Ministry were pleased to say, certain original letters & papers written by the late Gov^r Hutchinson, Oliver, & others, which opinion of the Ministry is so notoriously known to have been the cause of our dismissal that I imagine the most abandon'd to falshood will not attempt to deny it, but my memorial is totally & designedly silent by what means the letters were obtained in England, or at whose desire they were transmitted to this country.

'Tis not yet three weeks since I publickly detected this same M^r Sullivan in as willful and perhaps a more malicious *falshood* when he asserted that I & my friends were bitter enemies to D^r Franklin; and I then took occasion to say, that "by what means the letters he had busied himself about were obtained in England, and at whose desire they were transmitted under certain possitive injunctions for the perusal of seven gentlemen only of this commonwealth, was an *important secret* not yet lowered down to the level of M^r Sullivan's rank & consideration." These words I again repeat, and I also reassert that when the time comes for unfolding this secret which hath excited the curiosity of perhaps more than half Europe and all North America, the employers of said Sullivan, their partizan,

will appear in BLACK. I assert this from personal knowledge, because Dr Franklin consulted me upon every step he took in that memorable & important transaction! He shewed me every line he wrote and every line written to him upon the occasion, & commented upon one of the letters written to him, in which was an attempt to palliate the violation of his injunctions, with more asperity than I ever before knew him to discover. His correspondents were the Rev^d Dr Cooper of Boston, & the Hon. Tho^s Cushing, Esq^r, then Speaker of the House of R. One or two of their original letters upon the subject I have among some papers I left in Europe, which by mere accident or casual forgetfulness was left in my hands by Doctor Franklin.

I am very sensible, honorable Gentlemen, that the request I have now made will be giving you some little trouble, but that manly & honorable desire of supporting truth, & of detecting falshood wheresoever they may be found, which must be predominant in your minds will powerfully & abundantly plead my excuse.

I have the honour to be, with all deference & respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. TEMPLE.

Boston, 2^d Sept^r, 1782.

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